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*The
Viola da Gamba
Society
Journal*

*Essays in Honour of
Margaret Crum
(first instalment)*

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The Viola da Gamba Society of Great Britain 2021-22

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THE VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY JOURNAL

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Full details of the Society's officers and activities, and information about membership, can be obtained from the Administrator. Contributions for *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, which may be about any topic related to early bowed string instruments and their music, are always welcome, though potential authors are asked to contact the editor at an early stage in the preparation of their articles. Finished material should preferably be submitted by e-mail as well as in hard copy. A style guide is available on the VdGS website.



Margaret as a young woman



Margaret with Conker

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Abbreviations used in issues of this Journal:

<@> A digital copy of the item concerned was available at an open-access site at the time of publication.
All databases were last accessed on 26 January 2023.

GMO *Grove Music Online*, ed. D. Root <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>>.

IMCCM *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, ed. A. Ashbee, R. Thompson and J. Wainwright, i (Aldershot, 2001); ii (Aldershot, 2008) <@>.

MGG2 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. L. Finscher <<http://www.mgg-online.com>>.

ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Goldman <www.oxforddnb.com>.

RISM *Repertoire internationale des sources musicales* <@>.

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INTRODUCTION

PETER HOLMAN

Cataloguing is the foundation upon which the edifice of historical scholarship depends. Until we know what has survived, be it early prints, manuscripts or visual material of all sorts, then the process of editing it, evaluating it, writing about it, and (in the case of music) performing it cannot properly begin. Librarians in our great research libraries have a crucial but largely unsung role in this process, since they tend to know better than anyone what is on the shelves of their institution. The wise scholar will cultivate their acquaintance and benefit from their expertise.

In this volume of the *Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, slightly belatedly marking the centenary of her birth in 1921, we salute the contribution Margaret Crum made to musicology through her work on the Music School Collection in the Bodleian Library. She did not publish much on the subject by comparison with her work on English literary manuscripts and on Mendelssohn. We only have a handful of published periodical articles and her introduction to the Harvester microfilms of the Music School Collection. However, every scholar working in the field will, whether they know it or not, have used her work when consulting the invaluable 'Revised Descriptions' of Music School manuscripts, kept in the Sir Charles Mackerras Reading Room at the Bodleian Library in the folder MUS. AC.4; many of them are now available online: <<https://libguides.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/music-sc/manuscripts>>.

Margaret Crum was born in Farnham in Surrey, the daughter of the rector of the town's parish church; he was later a canon of Canterbury Cathedral. She read English at Somerville College, Oxford, and after taking a first, began work on a B.Litt. at Somerville, which won a British Academy prize and resulted in her first major publication, *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford, 1965). She joined the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library as a full-time member of staff in 1953, and her work there on English literary manuscripts culminated in the *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1700, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969). This monumental reference work is indispensable to musicologists as well as literary scholars. It often helps us to identify the authors of the texts of vocal music in printed collections, and (unlike many literary reference tools of this sort) it also covers music manuscripts and the settings of poetry found in them. It was invaluable when I was making an inventory of the Restoration vocal music in British Library, MS Mus. 1869 (formerly GB-HADolmetsch MS II.c.24), the subject of a joint article with Andrew Ashbee in last year's *Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 15 (2021), 21-6.

In later years Margaret was taken up largely with two scholarly projects. Her work on the M. Deneke Mendelssohn Collection resulted in her two-volume *Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Tutzing, 1980, 1983); a third volume, *Printed Music and Books* was added after her death by Peter Ward Jones (Tutzing, 1989). While she was working on the Music School manuscripts she became aware that many of them, particularly those of Italian and German origin, came from the collection of the botanist, apothecary and composer James Sherard (1666-1738), which had been bequeathed to the Bodleian by the clergyman and collector Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755).

Margaret only published a brief article on the Sherard Collection ('Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford', *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Herttrich and H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1985), 97-101), though she had treated it in greater breadth and depth in a remarkable paper, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection', she gave to the Oxford Bibliographical Society in February 1982. The typescript reveals that the music examples that day, consisting of three of Sherard's trio sonatas, were played by a group that included the young Christina Bashford on the violin (subsequently to make her mark as a musicologist working mainly in nineteenth British music), and Harry Johnstone at the harpsichord

(then and now a leading authority on eighteenth-century British music). Unfortunately, Margaret did not live long enough to complete her work on Sherard. In 1982 she had recently retired from the Bodleian, and she died on 19 July 1986 at the early age of 65. However, much of her work on Sherard, and the Music School manuscripts as a whole, lives on the Revised Descriptions and has been the spur for a good deal of subsequent research, including several papers in this collection.

The surname Crum will be familiar to all members of the Viola da Gamba Society because of our President, the distinguished viol player and teacher Alison Crum, Margaret's niece. Alison writes:

My earliest memories of my aunt Margaret (my father's youngest sister) were from the age of about six, when she took me to ride on her (seemingly) enormous horse, Conker. Sadly I did not take to riding, but was happy to meet her other animals – dogs, which she bred, and geese – when we visited her cottage by the river in Islip, just outside Oxford. Margaret was also a keen ornithologist, and grew a number of rare wild flowers in her garden, grown from seed which she had collected in various parts of Europe, in the days when it was allowed. She was also well known for her ability to identify planes which were flying over during the war, while lying in the hop fields in Kent!

Margie (as she was always called by her friends) was always a very active musician, mainly as a good amateur viola player, playing in many orchestras in the Oxford area, and also in chamber music and string quartets, which she apparently described as 'as near as anyone can get to heaven'. My mother, another Margaret Crum (also known as Margie), was also a viola player and teacher, and they played together quite often. At least twice they played in the same orchestra, and people were puzzled by seeing what appeared to be a misprint in the list of viola players in the concert programme; and the mention of their name in connection with music has quite often caused confusion.

Aunt Margie also had a keen interest in early music – perhaps not surprising considering her work – and at one stage she did have a tenor viol. I don't remember hearing her play it, but it did mean that by the time I was about 16, and a keen recorder player, I actually knew what a viol was. So perhaps, in some subliminal way, Margaret was partly responsible for my becoming a viol player.

Margaret's obituary in the *Bodleian Library Record* (12 (1985-8), 252-3) gives us another glimpse of her off duty:

her main interests were gardening at her cottage at Islip, and breeding dogs. Although a West Highlander by descent (her middle name was Campbell, and an ancestor met Dr. Johnson on Raasay), the dogs were Shelties, not Whites. The likeness of one of them is immortalized in stone in the spandrel of the arch of the entrance to the Schola Metaphysicae in the Old Library quadrangle.

We include two photographs of her, with thanks to Alison and the Crum family, the first a formal portrait as a young woman (Illus. 1) and the second with her horse Conker, mentioned by Alison (Illus. 2).

The essays in this year's *Viola da Gamba Society Journal* came about as the result of a call for papers a year ago. The response has been most encouraging, to the extent that we are now planning two instalments of the *Essays in Honour of Margaret Crum*. This first instalment begins with two short papers by Andrew Ashbee drawing on Margaret's correspondence concerning the Society's Thematic Index <<https://vdgs.org.uk/thematic/>>, the first with Gordon Dodd, the Index's custodian from 1965, and the second with Andrew himself, who took the Index over from Gordon in 1992, but who had been corresponding with her about the sources of John Jenkins's music from the early 1970s.

After these two papers, which are placed after this biographical account of Margaret Crum to throw further light on her scholarly activities, we have three papers devoted to vocal music – though they all concern music that might involve viols in performance. Two, by distinguished senior scholars,

are devoted to the niceties of bibliography, a subject dear to Margaret's heart. John Milsom reviews the tangled history of the publication of John Dowland's *Second Book of Songs* (1600) and the accompanying litigation between George Eastland and the publisher Thomas East concerning four errors that were allegedly in Dowland's autograph manuscript. David Pinto investigates Thomas Morley's borrowings from continental composers, focussing particularly on Domenico Maria Ferrabosco's *ballata* 'Io mi son giovinetta' and Morley's madrigal 'Now is the gentle season'.

A third paper on vocal music, by the young scholar Caroline Lesemann-Elliott, who has just completed a thesis on music in exiled English convents in France and Flanders between 1660 and 1730, investigates the collection acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1978 that had been owned by the Blount family of Mapledurham House in Berkshire. Her focus is on three manuscripts owned and used by English Catholic girls studying at English convents in Dunkirk, Paris and the town of Pontoise northwest of Paris. The collection was initially assessed by Margaret Crum on its arrival at the Bodleian; Caroline uses her work as her starting point.

Next, Harry Johnstone writes about the two organs installed in the Oxford Music School in the seventeenth century, which of course is of great interest to viol players and those interested in consort music because they were used for weekly performances there using the Music School manuscripts. He shows that the second instrument, supplied by Ralph Dallam in 1667, survives in Worcester Cathedral in altered form, as rebuilt by Samuel Green in 1774. My own contribution focusses on a manuscript in the collection from St Michael's, Tenbury, deposited at the Bodleian in 1978 – and doubtless also initially assessed by Margaret Crum. The manuscript consists of the parts of the Sinfonia in G major WoO 4 and the Concerto in G minor WoO 2, two youthful works by Corelli not included in his opp. 1-6. I argue that the manuscript was copied by the violinist and composer John Lenton for use in the Lincoln's Inn Theatre around 1700.

The contents of the second instalment, to be published we hope in July 2023, will be more closely focussed on consort music and the Music School manuscripts. We have been promised several studies of the Sherard manuscripts, and we plan to include a facsimile of the typescript of Margaret Crum's 1982 paper on the collection, complete with her annotations. It is not too late for further contributions on this or other relevant subjects. Please contact me in the first instance: peter@parley.org.uk; the deadline is 1 June 2023.

TOWARDS THE *THEMATIC INDEX* 1: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARGARET CRUM AND GORDON DODD¹

ANDREW ASHBEE

In 1978, as part of the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the death of John Jenkins, I was privileged to be invited to the USA to give a series of lectures on the composer. The trip was arranged by Patricia Olds, a gamba player and lecturer at Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio, who also ran her own Early Music Center at Yellow Springs. The lectures were part of 'The Ohio Program in the Humanities' and ranged widely to venues in the State. The visit also gave me a chance to meet the Jenkins scholar Robert Warner and his wife Marett in Michigan, where I also gave my talk, repeated later again in Connecticut at the invitation of Bruce Bellingham. But one event in particular has stayed in my memory: a visit to the library at Columbus University. The librarian proudly showed me that they could call up on screen the whereabouts of Jenkins pieces, not only in their own library, but across the nation. This was my first introduction to the electronic wizardry which has developed into the Internet, and which now serves us all.

How Gordon Dodd would have relished using the systems now available to us. But we are very fortunate that he kept many letters sent to him, and especially that he often made duplicates of his own responses to them. He set out the origins of the *Thematic Index* in the VdGS Bulletin of December 1965:

The Card Index

Some years ago (March 1959) it was proposed that the Viola da Gamba Society sponsor the compilation and eventual publication of a complete catalogue of viol music existing in manuscript as well as printed sources. Miss Nathalie Dolmetsch suggested that at least a beginning of this enormous undertaking could be made by means of a card index. Miss Dolmetsch herself started this work, and acknowledgement was made to Miss Cecily Arnold for her pioneer work in indexing the 2- and 3-part consorts, and to Dr. Ernst Meyer for permission to use the numbering system of his own preliminary catalogue. Since then Dr. Robert Donington has presented us with several hundred cards covering a wide field, thereby giving the Index a strong backbone. Miss Dolmetsch has now placed the Index in my charge. ... It is, however, far from complete, and much adding and checking is needed before we can arrive at a definitive catalogue of viol consort music.

The first instalment of what was the beginning of the *Thematic Index* comprised five pages listing the fantasias of Coprario, with 'grateful acknowledgement to information and advice received from Cecily Arnold, Richard Nicholson, Marco Pallis and Thurston Dart' (Illus. 1):

¹ The file of these letters is part of the Thematic Index Archive, currently with Andrew Ashbee.

Viola da Gamba Society Provisional Index				Manuscripts										XX KONINKLIJKE FANTASIE 1648	Scored (see Notes)	JACOBAN CONSORT MUSIC	Ed. Nagel. 563	Viola da Gamba See. Supp. Pub.	1.
COPERARIO, Giovanni (John Cooper) 1570-1627				OXFORD		B.M.	Dublin	KC	Rowe	Tombury	St. Mich. Coll.	MS. 302							
Meyer No.	10 Fantasies à 3			Bodl. Mus. Sch.	Christ Church	Add. Mss.	Marsh's Libr.	1832	114-7	1832	114-7	1832	114-7	1832	114-7	1832	114-7	1832	
				D245-7	C64-9	2,401-2	473-8	17792-6	40657-61	22.1.13	23.4.7-12	Rowe 114-7	Tombury	St. Mich. Coll.	MS. 302				
1.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓			No. 4	
2.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
3.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓				
4.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			No. 8	✓		
5.				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
6.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓		✓			
7.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
8.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							✓		
9.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
10.		Tr. TB		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									

COPERARIO -				OXFORD		DUB LIN	B.M. Add.	Tombury	MS. 302	Rowe	114-7	1832	114-7	1832	114-7	1832	114-7	1832
Meyer No.	9 Fantasies à 4 to the Organ.			2,397-409	423-8	473-8	23.4.1-9	40657-61	23.4.1-9	40657-61	23.4.1-9	40657-61	23.4.1-9	40657-61	23.4.1-9	40657-61	23.4.1-9	40657-61
1.		Tr. A. T.B. Org.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
2.		Tr. A. T.B. Org.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					Tr. TB
3.		Tr. A. T.B. Org.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		No. 19			
4.		Tr. A. T.B. Org.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			No. 3.
5.		Tr. A. T.B. Org.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		No. 20			

In those early days there was much to consider, but Gordon had devised a layout for the *Thematic Index* which enabled later revisions to be made without having to recreate the pages again from scratch. Numbering of pieces in these early pages owed much to Meyer's pioneering studies as well as to those Gordon mentions in his introduction, already quoted. Incipits and scoring were shown,

but initially only the presence of a piece was noted in the source lists. This soon began to change as Gordon embarked on his great journey to examine and record viol manuscripts worldwide. From the first he was eager to get in touch with scholars who were researching music which was pertinent to his work on the Index, and 100 or so of them are now acknowledged in the introduction. The present form of the Coprario page shows how much has changed since it was first published (Illus. 2):

JOHN COPRARIO		Print	QB-Ck MSS	Lbl Add MSS	Ob MSS Mus Sch	Och MSS				T MS	EIRE-Dm MSS	US- Lanc MS	St Aubyn MS	Publications												
VdGS No. (Charter's No.) [Meyer No.]	FANTASIES a3 (Tr T B or Tr AB)	KON. FANT 1648	113A	114-7	17792-6	40657-61	C.64-9	D.245-7	2	401-2	417-8/080	473-8	1113	302	Z2.1.13	Z3.4-7-12	F1995M4		CORDE MUSIC	VdGS SP	MUS BRIT 9	Nogel ed 563				
no.	Seq. P	no. f	no. (a3)	no. (a5)	no. P.	Seq. f.	Seq. f.	Seq. f.	no. (a5)	no. P.	Seq. no. f.	no. (a5) f.	no. (3 pt)	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.				
1 (c7) [M2]		13, 'org 2'	18	21	149 A	(2), 50' A	(2), 1' A	(2), 18' A	[15]					2 A				12		✓	33					
2 (c8) [M3]		14, 'org 8'	19	22	149 A	(3) 51' A	(3) 2' A	(3) 19' A	[16]					2' A	3 A			10		✓	33					
3 (c9) [M5]		11, 'org 5'	20	24		(5) 52' A	(5) 4' A	(5) 21' A						2' A	3 A	8, 8' A	16	8		✓	33					
4 (c10) [M4]		12, 'org 6'	21	23	150 A	(4) 51' A	(4) 3' A	(4) 20' A						3 A	4 A			17	9	✓	33	8 ✓				
5 (c11) [M7]		9, 'org 3'	22	26		(7) 53' A	(7) 6' A	(7) 23' A						75, 162	(8) 4' A	7 A				✓	33					
6 (c12) [M8]		10, 'org 4'	23	27		(8) 53' A	(8) 7' A	(8) 24' A						(33) 22' A	8 A			15		✓	33	✓				
7 (c13) [M9]		8, 'org 2'	24	-									[12]					14		✓	33					
8 (c14) [M10]		16, 'org 9'	25	-									[13]		Score					✓	33					
9 (c15) [M6]		15, -	26	25		(6) 52' A	(6) 5' A	(6) 22' A	[14]					(7) 4' A	6 A			7		✓	33					
10 (c16) [M1]		7 'org 1'	27	20	172	(1) 50' A	(1) 0' A	(1) 17' A						(32) 21 16	1			13		✓	33					
						Short score or key board with exposition of first subject																				
						Browne, parts																				
						Lillie assoc. Score																				
						Lillie, parts																				
						Lillie, Lillie.																				
						Marsh, parts																				
						Bass only																				

Gordon's first contacts with the Bodleian Library were in 1967, and mostly concerned setting up permissions for the Viola da Gamba Society to produce playing parts using readings from their manuscripts. But around the same time as the first drafts of the *Thematic Index* were appearing, Margaret Crum at the Bodleian was beginning to compile a full and accurate catalogue of the Music School manuscripts in the library.² She wrote to Gordon with a list of manuscripts she had 'done' with a request:

[4 June 1972]: I could send copies of any that you would very kindly scrutinize. Some were done before the way of doing it had quite settled, and in fact it may still need to be changed, but in the main I think the present system, with a detailed index, will make it possible to give the information that is needed. It is quite impossible to be briefer, I think?

The lists were duly sent and Gordon responded in detail on 5 August with seven pages, 'most of which are VdGS numberings and additional notifications of publications'. But on layout and numbering he wrote more: 'To me, the catalogue would yield its information most easily if the foliation in the different partbooks were laid out in columns'. Numbering remained a vexed issue:

² Now available as GB-Ob, MUS.AC.4, a folder of revised manuscript descriptions of Music School MSS.

Doubtless an introductory key explains the numbering system. Not having seen this, I would suggest that something be said in relation to each ms., to make distinction between

(a) Numbering that has been arbitrarily set down by the 20th-cent indexers, that does not appear in the ms itself.

(b) Numbering that has been pencilled into the source by an 18th/19th cent. indexer – that tends to get quoted elsewhere, cf. Ch. Ch. ms 2, also mus. Sch B.2-3

(c) Original or near-original numbering that is found in the ms.

(d) Numbering of any of these types, especially c., which is or is not sequential throughout the ms., e.g. the numbering from 1 - ? of a composer-block midway in the ms.

One defect of Hughes-Hughes is that he numbers systematically as a. above without saying so, and it is rather unreliable to quote 'no. 24 in Add. 39550-4' when, in the mss themselves, the piece may be no. 3 a:5. 'b'-numbering is also most unreliable, especially when the penciller has missed the odd piece. I imagine that and 'a'-numbering will normally be used; if so, then

(1) If there is any c-numbering, this could be shown in an additional column

(2) If not, the fact could be stated.

I hope that this plea is not too complicated!

Further correspondence established a consensus and Margaret wrote (24 August):

I have found it necessary to follow Hughes-Hughes' example of giving numbers for reference. In Bodley we really prefer letters, but there are so often far more than 26 items that it became too cumbersome. I promise always (now!) to say if the numbers are present in the original, and to quote whatever numbers the copyists or early owners gave. I think quoting later numbers would very often just add to bulk without contributing much. As to tabular form, it is just too expensive.

Another problem arose with the naming of parts. On 29 May 1973 Margaret wrote:

At last I've come back (for a while) to cataloguing the Music School manuscripts, and am attaching MSS 437-42. Problems of course arise. One is, the need to say which part is found in which book (I think that is a real need?) and arising from that, whether I may describe as Tenor all music written with the C clef on 2nd, 3rd or 4th line. If I may, the thing can be streamlined a bit, and as I don't remember the problem arising till now I would like to adopt this as a cataloguing rule unless you object.

Gordon replied on 5 June:

The method of identifying parts by name is fraught with uncertainty. Marco Pallis's learned article in the 1969 Bulletin is the sort of trap into which one is apt to fall. I believe that the simplest and possibly most helpful description is the abbreviation for the clef used, e.g. G2 for treble, C2 for mezzo-soprano, C3 alto F4 for bass. With that, there is no difficulty in telling 1st from 2nd treble, or uncertainty whether to put Alto or Tenor 1. I hope that is an acceptable solution.

Please reply to
THE KEEPER OF WESTERN MSS.

DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN MSS.
BODLEIAN LIBRARY
OXFORD
OX1 3BG
Telephone: OXFORD 44675
TELEX 83656

MCC/PS

30 July 1973

Dear Gordon,

Thank you very much for your letter, and here are three drafts, for your scrutiny when you have time, and inclination. 431-6 and 443-6 both depress me a little, being I think dutiful compilations scarcely used, except for the Lully pieces in 443-6. 568-9 seem to me to justify my playing about with water-marks and quires and so on.

I've looked at D.245-7. I'm afraid you must just have missed the opening containing 3 pieces (fol.28b-29a) On fol.47a the 2nd. piece is

436 1
(82)
not
in
pencil
annotation

3
5ts.



and the first measure (only the first up beat ^{and} chord of the second) is repeated at the end of the piece on fol.89a, separated only by a very ^h double ^h double bar.

I'm so glad Cornwall, and Golden, were so lovely.
With best wishes.

Yours,

M.C.Crum
Assistant.

Please reply to
THE KEEPER OF WESTERN MSS.

DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN MSS.
BODLEIAN LIBRARY

OXFORD

OX1 3BG

Telephone: OXFORD 44675
TELEX 83656

MCC/JW

4th January 1974

Dear Gordon,

Thank you so much.

I know you are still accumulating identifications, etc., for D. 245-7. Dr. Pauls has found that the pieces for 2 bass viols in tablature in 245-6, p.p. 23-8, are Ferrabosco's, printed in Lessons for 1.2. and 3 viols, 1609, p.p. 26-9. He has also ascribed pieces in F.573, which I will list and send you as soon as I can. You won't be sorry to hear that I am off these at the moment.

A very happy New Year to you both. I hope I'll see you here some time.

Yours,

Margaret

Commander Gordon Dodd R.N.,
7, Wychwood Avenue,
Canons Park,
Edgware,
Middlesex. HA8 6TL.

*I can't think how you
do manage - there must
be such a lot of intricate
notes - I do think between
us all we must be getting
some things sorted? But am
very uncomfortably aware of
my own deficiencies -*

Illus. 4: Letter from Margaret Crum to Gordon Dodd, 4 January 1974

Much of the correspondence concerns identification and numbering of pieces, generally now resolved in Margaret's *Revised Descriptions* and/or Gordon's *Thematic Index*. One example will suffice to illustrate the type of exchange:

MC, 19 Feb 1977:

Please can you help me. I am cataloguing MSS. Mus. Sch. E.447-9, because they need sewing and to have a protective box made, I find some of their content, when they get to Jenkins, is the same as MSS. E.431 etc., which I re-catalogued in 1973 giving VdGS numbers up to 103. I am sure these were Andrew Ashbee's numbers, but how did I know them? (Advancing senility very evident, I am afraid, but you'll be forgiving I hope.)

GD, 26 Feb 1977:

Thank you for your letter of 19 February. No it is not senility, it is the universal vagary of memory. I remember useless things and forget the vital ones. And it was Dagwood Bumstead who, ringing up Blondie from the supermarket, saying "what was I supposed to get from the supermarket, I've forgotten" and being told "I didn't tell you to get anything from the supermarket", later walked up his front path to tell her "I'm worried about myself: I am forgetting things I wasn't supposed to remember in the first place".

I think you must have got our numbering of E.431-6 from my letter of 28 October 1973, at a time when I had received Andrew Ashbee's draft article which later appeared in *Music and Letters*, Jan. 1974, and we were discussing the numbering.

Now, in effect, we have crossed in the post, because our Journal for 1973-4 is out, and these same seven Jenkins 'Newberry' airs appear on page 91.

Otherwise, all I can quote from E.447-9 is the composer-list which begins "85 Ayr's in this Book".

MC, 3 Mar 1977:

Thank you on all counts. I much look forward to the Journal, which will reach me in due course but probably not till I come back from the Peloponnese – I've a fortnight off from next week.

E.447-9 are interesting, copies by F. Withy, partly from E.431 etc., partly act music. As Arthur Phillips is represented, Dering and 'Moun. Gerdia' mentioned, and 'Outlandish Ayr's' are attributed to German (Pierre Germain?) I suspect a possible connection with someone who had been to France with Henrietta Maria. If 'Mr. H A' is, as has been suggested, Aldridge, they were copied between July 1681 (Act music) and his doctorate March 1681/2. They were beautifully bound for H.G. (who's he?). We're just having a protective box made. Can you identify either of these pieces, added at their ends?

In his reply of 13 March Gordon acknowledged: 'I can't solve any of the mysteries'.

Perhaps the most significant document in the file is a draft of the Introduction Margaret was compiling for the Harvester set of microfilms of the Music School collection, which she sent to Gordon on 27 Feb 1978. He praised her work: 'Harvester are getting Rolls-Royce treatment, and I hope that they are being suitably grateful'. It brilliantly surveys the early development of the Music School collection and I quote a few parts because it is a most useful summary for all to study.

Margaret begins with William Heather's founding of the Professorship in 1627 and its encouragement for 'such company as will practise Musick' to meet on Thursday afternoons. She notes that the remarkable survival of the collection may have greatly benefited from his order that nothing was to be removed from the Music School:

The emphasis is on instrumental music, because that was the primary concern of the Professors. There was much better provision for singers in books printed at home and abroad, but instrumentalists had to depend largely on manuscripts ... In the earlier years of the foundation little was added to Heather's gift, which consisted of 42 [printed] sets of madrigals and motets, together with the Forrest-Heather part books of Tudor church music. Nearly all are present still.

A first library list notes some additions, including MSS Mus. Sch. D.212-216, and in 1657 'the third Professor, John Wilson, paid Mr. Jackson for 'pricking of aires' in 'a sett of Bookes of 3. 4. 5. and 6 parts', no doubt MSS Mus. Sch. E.431-6, which his successor Edward Lowe labelled 'Ayres' and called 'the old Consort Bookes with Green Stringes'.

Not much is known about the first Professor, Richard Nicholson and his successor Arthur Phillips, though a small number of compositions by each is in the collection. Of Dr John Wilson, who came in 1656, much more has survived, though not in the Music School. His great book of lute compositions and lute songs was presented to the Bodleian in 1656 on condition that nobody should see it till after his death. But he was a court musician, a prolific composer and skilled performer, and he was in touch with other composers, and particularly with the brothers Henry and William Lawes. His successor Edward Lowe (Professor from 1661-1682) brought the same enlivening contact with practising musicians from outside Oxford. [...]

The best evidence of Lowe's assiduity is the library itself, which grew rapidly under his care. Money was raised by a collection organised in 1665 from members and friends of the University, and with this Heather's foundation was not only restored but was improved. Much was needed for an organ and for stringed instruments, but the library's share included the valuable part-books from the North's household at Kirtling. Henry Lawes gave the magnificent set of his brother William's compositions. At other times, John Hingeston, Valentine Oldys, Thomas Baltzar, and probably also Christopher Gibbons and Sylvanus Taylor, gave their own, either to Lowe himself or to the Music School. Dr Matthew Hutton, fellow of Brasenose, and Francis Withy, a Christ Church singing man, gave manuscripts they had copied. William Isles gave ten books to Dr. Fell in 1673 for the school, but of these only four remain. Richard Rhodes of Christ Church gave Lowe his set of part-books, John Lilly was paid for a copy of Simpson's 'Months and Seasons'. And Lowe himself transcribed a great deal of music, including a set of 'New Consort Books' (MSS Mus. E.443-6, F.570) in imitation of Wilson's set, bound in the same style, beginning in 1677. Lowe's hand is to be seen in a large proportion of the books, labelling, indexing, annotating, as well as copying. He was succeeded by Richard Goodson, whose first act was to have a list written,³ and who continued to add books.

The latest (and now sparse) correspondence in the file is from 1980, beginning when Gordon was about to holiday in Amsterdam. On 23 April Margaret wrote:

I'm just becoming interested in a large collection of music kept till the 1880s (or so), which someone, I rather think in the time of E. Lowe's successor R. Goodson I, brought from the continent. Arthur Marshall worked on the part relating to Finger. There are parts of cantatas, too, from Leipzig composers, 17th cent., and gamba music, some of which is Dutch, and that is why I am writing. [...]

MC: 16 July 1980. ... The manuscript is one of the very large section of Music School that I am concerned with. I find they were collated by James Sherard, partly through his brother William who travelled in Holland, Germany and Italy. I'm not sure what I hoped you would find in Amsterdam, but one always expects a list to be found if there's the slightest reason for hope. Sherard copied out a lot of the music that Arthur Marshall is interested in. [...]

And there the correspondence kept by Gordon ends. Margaret herself retired within a couple of years. But research always continues. Naturally the Dodd-Crum correspondence principally

³ Now at GB-Lcm, MS 2125.

concerns the earlier Music School manuscripts and has an emphasis on viol music, so the Sherard collection, which Margaret had begun to investigate, has had to wait longer for scholars' attention. It too now claims their interest, as shown in Stephen Rose's pioneering article on 'James Sherard as music collector'.⁴

I was very glad to be part of the thrill we all felt in those days, and the perpetual excitement of new discoveries. Libraries gradually yielded up their secrets, and scholars pieced together indexes and editions. Librarians were the lynch-pins to whom we all turned, both with our discoveries and with our pleas for help. They too, of course, were as excited and dedicated to their cataloguing as we were in telling of our discoveries. And, of course, it is the three great English collections of music for viols which continues to dominate the work of VdGS members today, always expertly studied and cared for by the librarians of those days: Pamela Willetts at the British Library, John Wing at Christ Church, and Margaret Crum at the Bodleian. We salute them all for their knowledge, encouragement and ever helpful support.

⁴ S. Rose, 'James Sherard as Music Collector', *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, ed. J. Cunningham and B. White (Woodbridge, 2020), 357-379.

TOWARDS THE *THEMATIC INDEX* 2: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MARGARET CRUM AND ANDREW ASHBEE⁵

ANDREW ASHBEE

I met Margaret Crum only once, when she was required to supervise the formal ritual for my admission as a suitable person to use the Bodleian Library by my reading aloud the obligatory text. At the time she seemed rather fierce; no doubt she had been called away from far more interesting work. In later years she proved a warm and ever helpful correspondent as we both grappled with research into the Bodleian music manuscripts, and John Jenkins in particular.

My first letters to the Bodleian were naturally enough requests for microfilms, which were answered by Margaret, 'so that the right pages can be found' for the photographer. A typical postscript already appears in her earliest reply, dated 2 January 1964:

Have you seen, in the British Museum, MS. Add. 18220? It contains an epitaph on Dudley North (1582-1666) 'communicatur a Dr. Jo. Jenkins Musicae facile Magistro Authore'.

At the time this was a new and fruitful lead for me, emanating from her profound knowledge of seventeenth-century literature.⁶ There is then a large gap in our correspondence, and nothing of interest until 27 November 1973. Unfortunately, I did not keep copies of my letters, so her answers to my queries cannot always be understood. In this letter, however, she considers the evidence for the acquisition of the Kirtling bequest:

The account quoted by Hawkins speak of 'the disbursements in the year 1667.' This I take to mean that the sums he lists, including £22 for these Kirtling manuscripts, were paid in 1667. The collection of money was 'in 1665', and Christopher Field thinks 'in 1667' might mean 'by 1667' i.e. 1665-7. Wood's diary doesn't help. Gordon Dodd has puzzled me by saying you found one of the hands in our Mus. Sch. F.568-9 the same as one in D.241-2. I can't see it. Can you help?

Could you possibly let me have a xerox of Henry Loosemore's hand? We have George's.

4 December 1973:

Thank you very much indeed. I'm very glad to have Henry Loosemore, but I think I am probably seeing this hand now for the first time. But I don't know William Cranford either. I must look up all your references, but (unfortunately) not just now.

The answer about the hand puzzle is that R. R. [Richard Rastall] is wrong. One of the hands he speaks of is Edward Lowe's, and he had no part in F.568-9. I came on Edward Lowe in one of a university speech (*Terrae filius*), 1663: apparently 2 old asses grazed in the quadrangle at Christ Church. The speaker (Joseph Brooks of Christ Church) pretended Lowe wanted a doctorate, for adorning the Music School and wandering aimlessly about the quad, and said why shouldn't these three all supplicate, 'quid obstat, quin hi duo Asini cum organista sint tres Asini ad lyram'. I don't understand the reference. Do you?

I didn't, but consulted the classics master at my school, who gave an answer which I've now forgotten. This was duly relayed to Margaret, who replied on 25 January 1974:

⁵ The file of these letters has been added to the Thematic Index archive, currently with Andrew Ashbee.

⁶ The most important is of course her *First-Line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800, in Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969).

Very many thanks for so kindly finding out about the joke. It's the same one that is carved on the S.W. corner of Chartres cathedral, isn't it? I'm sorry they laughed at Edward Lowe, but I've always thought he was something of an old woman with his muddle and fuss though I love him dearly.

In September-October 1976 her work on identifying copyists of Music School manuscripts was in full swing because of the imminent issue of them by Harvester Microfilms. Nevertheless, helpful snippets arrived regarding the handwriting in Mus. Sch. E.437-42:

10 September:

I believe the main scribe wrote elsewhere in the Music School collection and will let you know if I can find in which MS.

12 October:

All I can say at present about the scribe of MSS. Mus. Sch. E.437-42 (still in our Precarious keeping, N. B.!) is that he added In nomine in MSS. Mus. Sch. D.212-16, at some time before a different copyist added Anthems by various composers, including the first Heather Professor, Richard Nicholson.

We exchanged photocopies when aiming to clarify the work of copyists in the North collection. This led Margaret to further questions and show the detailed care she brought to all her work.

25 April 1977:

Thank you for your letter and photocopies. I don't think I have ever met the fifth copyist. The others look familiar but not from the North books, not the scribe who coughed.⁷ They are really distinct people, not one at different times, are they? Probably obvious in real life?

I am worried by C.98 now. Looking at the ruling instead of the watermarks I get different divisions, showing that the stationer who sold the paper ready ruled took a more important part than I had realized. The easy answer to give is, no, the last 8 airs are not on different paper in all parts, but that may have been partly because the copyist habitually left blank paper at the end – there is a good deal after no. 32 in each. Changes occur in 2nd treble in no. 29, 2nd bass at no.26. I am afraid it needs a longer look than at the moment I can give, much as I would like to, as I am trying to get Mendelssohn ready for a visit from my friend in Berlin whose visits are rare but essential – I'll write again.

It is only in May 1977 that the formality of 'Assistant Librarian' and 'Mr/Dr Ashbee' are finally dropped for correspondence between 'Margaret' and 'Andrew'.

1978 was the tercentenary of the death of John Jenkins and among the scheduled events I was invited by Frederick Sternfeld to give a lecture at the Holywell Music Room, Oxford, on 28 April: 'The Music of John Jenkins, Change or Decay?' A planned Jenkins concert in Oxford at the time had to be cancelled, but Margaret arranged for some key Jenkins manuscripts held at the Bodleian and at Christ Church to be displayed on the day of my lecture. She wrote:

18 April 1978:

I am so sad that the one concert is not after all coming off – But I trust your Lecture is going to happen – I altered my dates and shall be here on the 26th, but I am afraid your lecture is Friday. I propose to put some manuscripts in the divinity school, just one case, and perhaps you could mention it, so some of your audience might like to see? Christ Church 1005 and some of our North things, really my Chelys article.

⁷ See M. Crum, 'The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667, *Chelys* 4 (1972), 3-10, esp. page 4, where she writes that Mrs Segal, the Bodleian's repairing expert had identified a mould and 'Her likely, but distressing, suggestion is that the scribe may have been coughing over his work.'

The exhibition was duly seen and appreciated. In spite of altering her schedule Margaret was unable to attend my lecture because she had arranged to go to Wales that weekend, 'hoping to see Red Kites'. A letter of 26 June found her considering the manuscript pieces added after Simpson's *Division-Violist* of 1659:

How very clever of you, about Mus.184.c.8, and I do agree. The pieces were either at the beginning of the blank book (6 quires of 8) or were added (this I think more likely) at the end of the book in which the carefully scribe had copied divisions to be added to The Division Violist. The rest of the inverted pages were used by other hands, later. Who were R. L. and D. W., mentioned in the carefully copied part? And what about the Jenkins pieces in that? Do they help with the date? I am at present more than usually disorganized, as in a week's time I am leaving for Austria (study leave, to improve German) for a month.

Margaret's note in the *Revised Descriptions* (p. 141) retains the 'D.W.' ascription, which we now know is a poorly copied 'P.W.' (for Polewheel); 'R.L.' still seems right for Roger L'Estrange. She noted a previously undetected Jenkins hand in MS North e.37:

26 September 1978. Am I wrong? Isn't this J.J. himself too? I'm re-cataloguing MS. North e.37, for Harvester Press to put (dementingly, on film) with their published microfilm series. I'm trying to give your numbering ...

She apologised for holding on to a microfilm I had loaned to her 'and still haven't looked at', because:

Just at present [21 October 1978] I am harassed by preparations for a Harvester Press microfilm publication (I've quarrelled with them about their very misleading advertisement but would like to be as righteous as possible over getting what they want done as agreed) ...

The Jenkins centenary celebrations were then in full swing, with a service, concert and meal at Kimberley on the 300th anniversary of his death on 27 October.

11 October 1678:

I don't think I shall get to Kimberley, as I'm due here at 9.0 on the 28th – might change that, but I have to be in Salisbury later in the day, so I had better (regretfully) give up the hope.

Her last letter to me was on 4 February 1981:

I'm so ashamed, I'm retiring and clearing my papers etc. and found your microfilm, which I enclose now with apologies. I hope to finish cataloguing the Music School manuscripts, after an interval perhaps – Energy and funds at present are lacking.

Energy was found to complete what is now GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4, a folder of revised descriptions of Music School MSS, and an essential tool for all who work on these wonderful manuscripts.

THE ‘FOURE FALTES’ IN DOWLAND’S *SECOND BOOKE OF SONGS* (1600)

JOHN MILSOM

There are two reasons for cherishing John Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* of 1600. First and most obviously, it is a monument of English song, celebrated both for its music and its verse. Second, soon after publication it became the subject of litigation between its publisher George Eastland and its printer Thomas East, and this left behind rare documentary evidence not only about *The Second Booke of Songs* itself, but also about the mechanics and economics of early-modern music printing and publication in general. In this brief study, I look closely at some details that connect the litigation to the 1600 edition, and I also review some of the literature that might have been expected to touch on that subject. One of my conclusions is that we need a full critical edition of the original documents relating to the East-Eastland dispute, ideally coordinated with a proper critical edition of *The Second Booke of Songs*.

As matters stand, we rely today on the following resources. The only comprehensive discussion of the Eastland-East dispute is the one published by Margaret Dowling in 1932 which, though seemingly reliable, nonetheless contains only a digest of the facts, and only snippets quoted from the underlying texts.¹ Its author’s background was in literary studies, not musicology, and the article itself says next to nothing about musical or notational issues. Much of Dowling’s account was subsequently paraphrased in Diana Poulton’s biography of John Dowland, seemingly without reference to the original documents; this is the account many readers will know.² Some details of the litigation were then revisited by Jeremy Smith in his 2003 study of Thomas East, in a section headed ‘Setting and correcting music at the press’.³ Smith’s aim was to explain how variant states and readings can exist within different copies of what is ostensibly a single edition, and by way of illustration he drew some of his examples from Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs* with its attendant litigation; it was not his aim to make a comprehensive reexamination of the materials studied by Dowling. Smith quotes from the original documents, sometimes in readings that do not wholly agree with Dowling’s.⁴

As for *The Second Booke of Songs* itself, there has never been a full scholarly edition of this important song book – or indeed of any of Dowland’s song books. In 1922 Edmund H. Fellowes published its contents as songs for solo voice with lute tablature, supplemented by modern keyboard realisations. The plates for that edition were then updated in 1969, in a revised edition credited to Thurston Dart, though its ‘Revisers’ Note’ explains that much of the checking was in fact done by David Scott.⁵ Meanwhile, the 14 pieces in *The Second Booke of Songs* that can be sung as polyphonic partsongs received separate attention. The plan was for Fellowes to publish them in the series

¹ M. Dowling, ‘The Printing of John Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*’, *The Library*, 4th series 12 (1932), 365–80.

² D. Poulton, *John Dowland* (London, 2/1982), 245–74.

³ J.L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 2003), 40–2.

⁴ Some passages from the documents were independently transcribed and published by Tessa Murray in *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge, 2014), *passim*.

⁵ J. Dowland, *The Second Book of Songs (1600)*, ed. E.H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart (London and New York, 1969), iv.

Musica Britannica, but he did not live to finish this, so the project was completed by Dart and Nigel Fortune; their edition was published in 1953 and was revised a decade later in a second edition.⁶ These in turn were superseded in 2000 by a freshly engraved Musica Britannica volume edited by David Greer, in which the partsong versions were now aligned with the lute tablatures of 1600. This at last made it possible for performers to select between the multiple options for these songs, which can involve various combinations of voices, viols and lute.⁷ Regrettably, however, Greer did not re-edit the first eight works in *The Second Booke of Songs* and make good a serious deficiency in the Fellowes-Dart edition. As published by Dowland in 1600, these first eight songs have fully texted bass lines that encourage them to be sung by two voices and lute; thus ‘Sorrow, stay’ and ‘Flow my tears’ (for instance) can and arguably should be sung as duets, rather than as solo songs. Why Fellowes should have suppressed these bass voices is unclear, and it was remiss of Dart not to reinstate them.⁸

All these music editions were made principally to serve the needs of performing musicians. They aim to establish what might be called the ‘text’ of Dowland’s songs, and they focus on issues of musical, verbal and intellectual content; it is probably fair to say that none of their editors was particularly interested in the 1600 edition of *The Second Booke of Songs* as a material object. Dart and Greer did draw attention to the existence of Dowling’s article, but neither of them set out to develop or exploit its content. Admittedly, Dart sensed that different copies of the 1600 edition might not be quite identical to one another, and he reports that Scott took the trouble of consulting four separate copies of *The Second Booke of Songs*, held by libraries in London, Lincoln and Manchester. Evidently, though, Scott came back empty-handed, because the ‘Revisers’ Note’ states that ‘All these copies appear to be identical, even down to the manuscript correction of a misprint in the dedicatory poem’.⁹

In that last remark, however, Dart touches on a universal truth: in early modern printed material, it was possible to hand-emend the printed sheets after the regular press-run was complete, and Dowling’s 1932 article makes it plain that this is exactly what happened with Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs*. Among his grievances against Eastland, East complained about the amount of time and effort he and his staff had expended on hand-correcting faults in the printed sheets; he states that this task, together with that of assembling collated volumes out of the separate sheets, had taken them almost a week, for which Eastland made only derisory recompense. A key issue in his complaint is that, according to East, the faults were not of his own making. There were errors in the manuscript copy, which his typesetter(s) merely reproduced, so why should East suffer financially for fixing these mistakes? The relevant passage from the litigation is reproduced below, exactly as transcribed by Dowling, but with contractions expanded:

⁶ J. Dowland, *Ayres for Four Voices*, transcribed by E.H. Fellowes, ed. T. Dart and N. Fortune, Musica Britannica 6 (London, 1953, 2/1963).

⁷ J. Dowland, *Ayres for Four Voices*, ed. D. Greer, Musica Britannica 6 (2000).

⁸ Cedric Lee has produced a performing (as opposed to a scholarly) edition of the eight songs with texted bass, published by Green Man Press. This forms part of a larger project to edit all the songs for soprano and bass in the English lute ayre repertoire that were overlooked by Fellowes and Dart. The other duos appear in the song books of Michael Cavendish (1598), John Bartlett (1606) and Robert Jones (1601), together with Dowland’s *A Musical Banquet* (1610). My thanks to Christopher Goodwin for drawing my attention to this project.

⁹ Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs*, ed. Fellowes, rev. Dart, iv.

[East complains of the wastage of] ... almost A whole weekes worke for him & his servantes for gatheringe collaconinge and mendinge [*i.e.* correcting] foure faltes in the copie booke [*i.e.* the manuscript copy used by the typesetters] & not knowne of till the booke was fully finished[,] for the mendinge of *which* faltes this defendant [East] and his servantes did peruse over foure Thowsand sheetes or theraboutes, for all *which* paynes and tyme spent, he [Eastland] gave the sayd defendant [East] but 2^s [shillings and] 6d [pence].¹⁰

On the evidence of this testimony, we might expect that, within any surviving copy of *The Second Booke of Songs*, there ought to be four hand-emended errors. Dart and Scott may have met one of them: they draw attention to ‘the manuscript correction of a misprint in the dedicatory poem’, consistently present in all four copies they consulted. Jeremy Smith, in his 2003 book on East, locates and analyses another hand-corrected error, this time within the notation of one of the songs, and he associates this with the East-Eastland dispute.¹¹ East’s statement, however, claims that there were ‘foure faltes’. What were they, and are they the ones observed by Dart and Smith? I pursue them below, but first a brief overview of their back-story is required. In the following account, I gather together some relevant facts, gleaned partly from Dowling’s article, partly from personal experience.¹²

In the late 1590s, John Dowland was resident in Denmark in the service of Christian IV. He had prepared a manuscript of a new collection of songs, presumably with plans for its publication in England, and he sent it to his wife in London. She in turn sold it to George Eastland, in a transaction that effectively assigned him exclusive rights to publish its contents. As issued in 1600, the song book bears a dedication addressed by Dowland to Lucy Russell (*née* Harington), Countess of Bedford; its presence might support the view that Dowland had assembled the collection expressly for printed publication, and had already negotiated the dedication.¹³ Evidently, though, Dowland could not come over to London to read proofs and supervise passage of the book through the press. Eastland, about whom little is known, had presumably witnessed the success of Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* of 1597, and hoped to profit from selling its successor. He therefore commissioned the London printer Thomas East to print a thousand copies of *The Second Booke of Songs*. These copies would then become Eastland’s property, to sell and distribute however he chose, and at whatever price he liked. A few dozen additional copies were also to be printed, and these became the focus of the ensuing lawsuit, but they are irrelevant to the present discussion. The edition size was therefore greater than a thousand copies, and I refer to it below as ‘1000+’.

¹⁰ Dowling, ‘The Printing of John Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*’, 374.

¹¹ Smith, *Thomas East*, 42-3.

¹² My early researches into press variants and corrections in sixteenth-century music editions were reported in J. Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the “Uncorrected Copy”: Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type’, *Music & Letters* 77 (1996), 348-67, subsequently developed in *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, ed. Milsom, *Early English Church Music* 56 (London, 2014). The present study runs parallel to ongoing research conducted collaboratively with Jessie Ann Owens into Thomas Morley’s *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597); our findings will be reported in *Thomas Morley’s ‘A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke’ (London, 1597): Edition, Commentary, Essays and Facsimile*, ed. Milsom and J.A. Owens, with musical transcriptions by Ross Duffin, forthcoming.

¹³ Lady Russell, aged 20 when *The Second Booke of Songs* was published in 1600, became a significant and discerning patron of the arts; for a summary of books dedicated to her, see F.B. Williams jr, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London, 1962), 161. The fact that Dowland’s letter of dedication speaks of being ‘removed from your sight’ implies some degree of personal acquaintance with her.

A contract between Eastland and East was drafted, but this was done in Eastland's absence. Apparently, his side of the agreement was negotiated instead by two musicians, Edward Johnson and John Wilbye. The existence of a contract for *The Second Booke of Songs* is itself unremarkable; contracts between authors or publishers and their printers were probably common in the early modern era, though few survive.¹⁴ Their aim was to specify the distribution of responsibilities. For instance, a contract might state that the author/publisher should deliver a manuscript that was fully accurate in every respect, and it might also require the author/publisher to read proofs or arrange for a trusted deputy to do so. Through such clauses, the author/publisher would in effect become responsible for any errors that found their way into the finished edition. It would seem, however, that East then wanted to modify the contract with Eastland. Johnson and Wilbye objected and apparently withdrew from the project, so no agreed written contract was in existence when typesetting and printing began. Whether or not East's typesetter(s) worked directly from Dowland's original manuscript is not stated, but it would have been imprudent not to have a back-up copy, or one that was not clearly laid out and fully legible. Johnson was a lutenist, Wilbye was a singer and viol player, so perhaps one of their tasks had been to prepare a fair and accurate transcript for use by East and his team.¹⁵

In bibliographical terms, *The Second Booke of Songs* in its printed form is a folio-in-twos, collated A²-M², N¹. This means that each copy of the book was made out of twelve and a half large paper sheets, each of which had to pass through the press twice, first to print one of its sides (printed from the 'white-paper forme'), then the other (printed from the 'perfecting forme'). On the first twelve sheets, two pages were printed on each side, so that, when folded vertically at the centre, the sheet would give rise to a four-page booklet. Every sheet bears identifying alphabetical signatures in the lower right-hand corner of the pages that will become rectos, in the sequence A-I and K-M; the edition would then end with a half-sheet signed N, which comprises only two pages. Eastland had commissioned a thousand copies of the edition, so it was East's task to typeset and print the 1000+ copies of each individual sheet.

Before printing could commence for any side of a sheet, it was necessary to proofread and correct the forme used to print it, possibly more than once.¹⁶ We do not know who bore responsibility for proofing *The Second Booke of Songs*. Eastland may have wanted Johnson and Wilbye to do this, but

¹⁴ See for instance the discussion of contracts in J. Griffiths and W.E. Hultberg, 'Santa Maria and the Printing of Instrumental Music in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *Livro de homenagem a Macario Santiago Kastner*, ed. M.F. Cidrais Rodrigues, M. Morais and R.V. Nery (Lisbon, 1992), 345-60. For details of an English non-music contract, see I.G. Philip, 'A Seventeenth-Century Agreement Between Author and Printer: Documents Relating to the Publication of Nathanael Carpenter's *Geography Delineated*, 1625', *Bodleian Library Record* 10 (1978-82), 68-73.

¹⁵ This could be implied by a passage in the East-Eastland litigation that is not mentioned by Dowling but is quoted in Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 118: 'the sayd complainant [Eastland] beinge to goe forth of the towne [London], lefte the same booke [Dowland's manuscript] with one Edward Johnson & John Wilbye gentleman to peruse and correct'. Whether or not they created a fair copy is not stated.

¹⁶ Marked-up proof sheets for sixteenth-century music editions were typically discarded after use, and survive only by accident, for instance in book bindings. For some rare examples, see H. Vanhulst, 'A Fragment of a Lost Lutebook Printed by Phalèse (Louvain, 1575)', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 40 (1990), 57-80; also the extensive set of proofsheets recently recovered for Orlande de Lassus's *Magnum opus musicum Orlandi de Lasso ... complectens omnes cantiones quas motetas vulgo vocant* (Munich: Nikolaus Henricus, 1604), as reported in G. Heinz-Kronberger and B. Schmidt, 'Korrekturfahnen von Orlando di Lassos *Magnum Opus Musicum* (1604) im Bayerischen Hauptstaatsarchiv', *Nachrichten aus den Staatlichen Archiven Bayerns* 79 (2020), 17-19, republished by the RISM Editorial Center as 'Sensational Discovery: Proofs of Orlando di Lasso's *Magnum opus musicum* (1604) in the Archives of the Bavarian State' <@>.

it looks as if they turned their backs on the project. Whether or not Eastland himself had the necessary skills to read and correct proofs is unknown.¹⁷ However, East was a specialist music printer, and he would surely have maintained staff who could attend to the proofing themselves. When the forme had been corrected, its regular press-run could begin. However, if further errors were then detected, the press could be stopped and further adjustments made to the type before resuming work, and this might be done more than once, and at any point during the press-run. As a result, not all copies printed from the same forme will necessarily be identical. Moreover, early-state copies would typically not be discarded, but instead would be added to the heap of printed sheets. Although it was possible to emend early-state sheets by hand at a later stage, equally they might be incorporated unemended into collated copies of the finished edition.¹⁸

Returning, then, to East's testimony, his complaint was that, after printing was finished, he and his servant had to 'peruse over foure Thowsand sheetes or thereaboutes' in order to correct the 'foure faltes'. If that statement means exactly what it says, then we might conclude that those 'foure faltes' should be distributed over four different sheets of the 1600 edition, and be present in every copy. So the hunt begins.

Of the 1000+ copies of *The Second Booke of Songs* printed in 1600, eleven are known to survive in publically accessible libraries. (There may be unrecorded copies in private ownership.) They are listed below, each identified by an italicized name (such as *BL* or *Bodleian*) that is used in subsequent discussion. Where relevant, supplementary information is given about changes of ownership, and the existence of surrogates such as facsimile editions and online digital images.

1. *BL*: London, The British Library, K.2.i.5. Possibly the copy formerly at Christ Church, Oxford, originally at shelfmark H.16 but reported missing in 1845. A facsimile of this copy was published by The Scholar Press in 1977.¹⁹
2. *Bodleian*: Oxford, The Bodleian Libraries, Tenbury Mus. c.85. This copy was formerly in the library of St Michael's College, Tenbury Wells (closed 1985); it was then acquired by the Bodleian Libraries.
3. *Boston*: U.S.A., Boston MA, Boston Public Library, G.400.52 folio. A PDF file of low-resolution colour images of this copy can be downloaded free of charge from the Internet Archive <@>.
4. *Folger*: Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 7095. A facsimile based on this copy was published by Broude Brothers in 1994.²⁰ High-resolution colour images of selected pages can be viewed at the Folger Library's website <@>.
5. *Huntington*: San Marino CA, The Huntington Library, Rare Books 59101. A PDF file of low-resolution monochrome images of this copy (transferred from microfilm) can be

¹⁷ There is a possibility that Eastland was a musician, perhaps a player of viols or violins; see Poulton, *John Dowland*, 245 (fn.).

¹⁸ For a demonstration of this point, see the Bibliographical Report to *Thomas Tallis & William Byrd: Cantiones Sacrae 1575*, ed. Milsom, 439-47; this identifies the variant states of formes used to print the edition, and lists the copies in which incorrect early states can be found.

¹⁹ J. Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres (1600)*, ed. D. Poulton (Menston, 1977).

²⁰ J. Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres of Foure Parts, with Tableture for the Lute*, Performers' Facsimiles, 128 (New York, 1994). Some editions in this series have been 'edited' to eliminate 'blemishes', so may not be wholly faithful to the original.

downloaded from the online resource Early English Books Online, which is a subscription service.

6. *Lincoln*: Lincoln Cathedral, Wren Library, Aa 2-17.
7. *Liverpool*: Liverpool, Central Library, Special Collections, 74-DR. An incomplete copy, lacking sigs. A-C, L2, M2 and N.
8. *Magdalen*: Oxford, Magdalen College, Old Library, Arch.D.4.29(2). This copy, once owned by Sir Charles Somerset, was in the collections of Ueno Gakuen University, Tokyo, before being purchased by Magdalen College in 2015.²¹ A PDF file of high-resolution colour images of this copy can be downloaded from the Digital Bodleian website <@>.
9. *Manchester*: Manchester, Central Library, Special Collections, BRf410Ds406.
10. *RAM*: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(117995.1). Formerly owned by Robert Spencer.
11. *RCM*: London, Royal College of Music, D168.

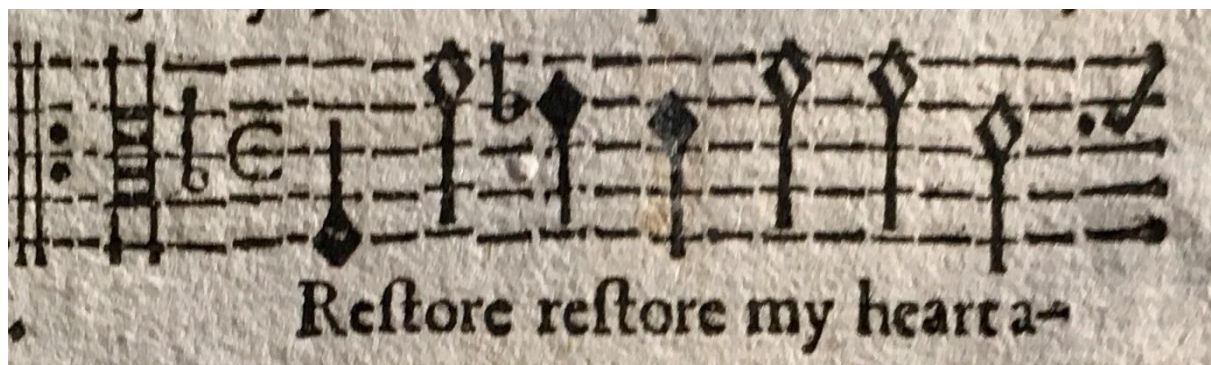
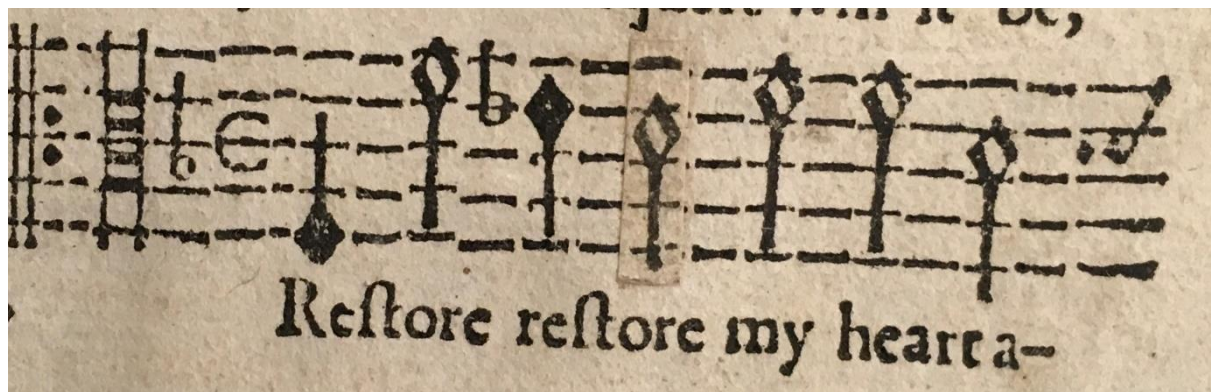
Of these, Dart and Scott consulted *BL*, *Lincoln*, *Manchester* and *RCM*. Greer worked mainly from *Folger*, but makes passing mention of *Bodleian*, and of *BL* in the Scolar Press facsimile. My own research started with the digitised images of *Boston* and *Huntington*, followed by personal examination of copies *RCM*, *BL*, *Bodleian*, *Magdalen*, *Liverpool* and *Manchester*, viewed in that order. During the library visits, data accumulated incrementally, an issue that complicated the research process. For instance, if new information were yielded by copy *Liverpool*, then ideally it would then be back-checked in copies *RCM*, *BL*, *Bodleian* and *Magdalen*. However, research was interrupted by the onset of COVID-19, with its attendant travel restrictions and library closures, and the project remains incomplete. I therefore summarise it now, partly as a resource for future research into Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*, partly because of its broad relevance to the study of early music editions printed from movable type.

* * *

Of the 'four^e faltes', two can be identified with near certainty. As for the other two, there are three possible contenders. Collectively, these five emendations are distributed across sheets A, C, G, K and M, and because no two of them occur on the same sheet, the distribution fits with East's claim to have perused 'over foure Thowsand sheetes or theraboutes'. Each emendation was made by a different method or combination of methods, so each merits its own separate discussion. In the following analysis, '1600' refers to East's edition, '*Fellowes-Dart*' to the 1969 edition of songs 1-8, and '*Greer*' to the Musica Britannica edition of songs 9-22.

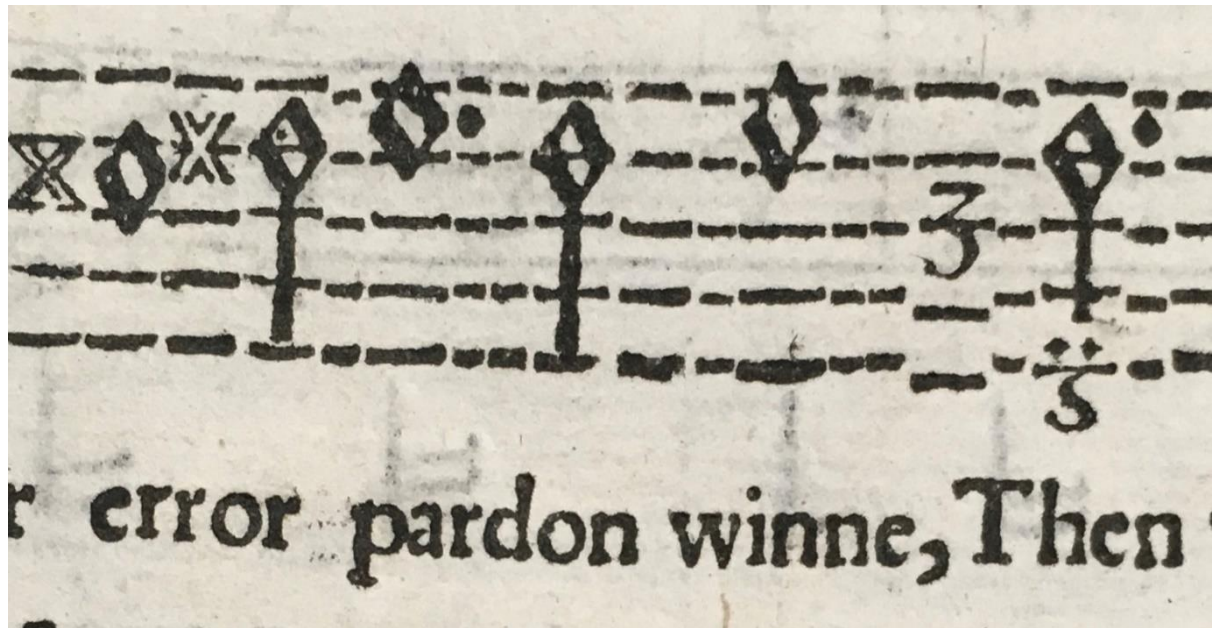
²¹ The acquisition was reported online at Magdalen College, 'John Dowland's Music Books' <@>.

No. 1. 'A shepherd in a shade'. 1600, sig. K2^r, Tenore voice, staff 2, four notes from end; equivalent to *Greer*, p. 70, bar 9, Tenore, note 4, with Textual Commentary at p. 201. This note should be a minim, but instead was it printed in 1600 as a crotchet, seemingly in all copies. The error was then emended by a pasted cancel slip, probably in all copies, though some of the slips have fallen away and are now missing. Illus. 1a shows the attached slip in copy *Bodleian*; Illus. 1b shows copy *Magdalen*, in which traces of glue betray the loss of a slip. In order for this correction to be made, East and his team would have needed to (1) print the cancel slips, (2) carefully cut them to the requisite size, (3) carefully paste them into place, and (4) wait for the glue to dry completely. This was necessary in all of the 1000+ copies of sheet K. *Greer* does not refer to this cancel slip, presumably because in copy *Folger* it gives rise to a correct reading; the editor's concern was with Dowland's song, not with the material nature of 1600.



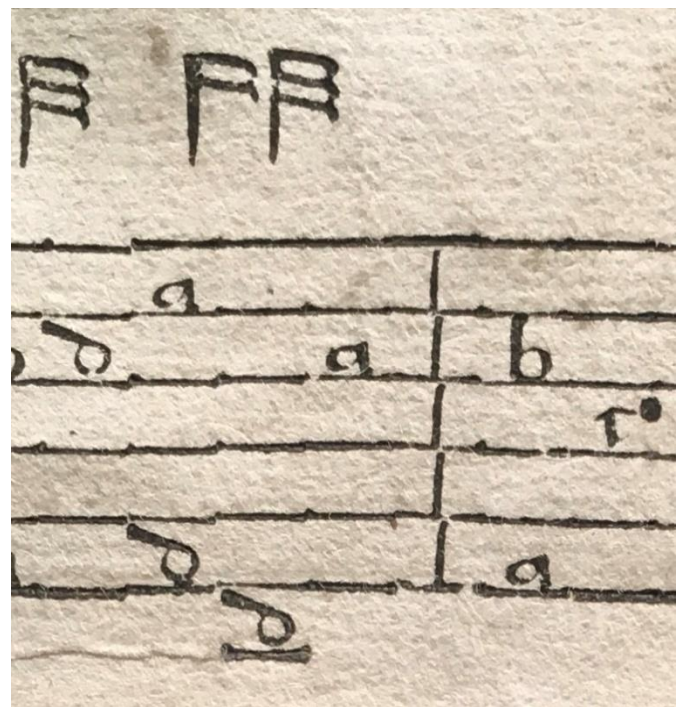
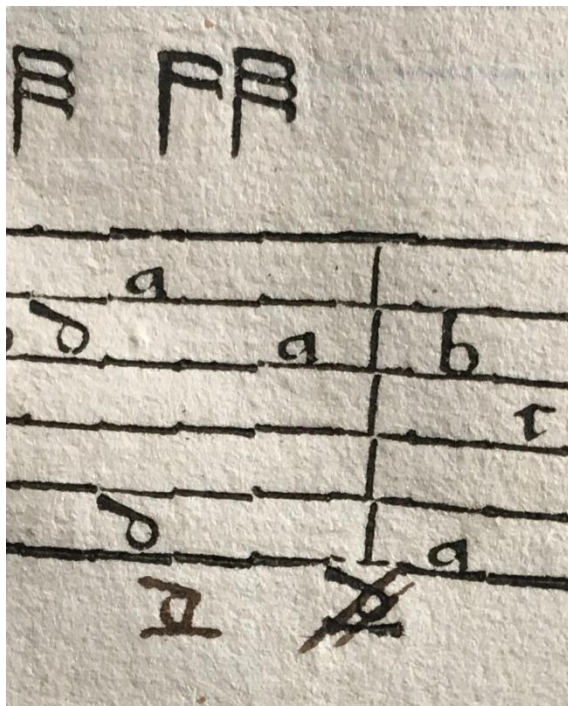
Illus. 1: 1600, sig. K2^r, Tenore voice, end of staff 2; (a) copy Bodleian; (b) copy Magdalen. Author's photographs.

No. 2. 'If floods of tears'. 1600, sig. G2^r, Alto voice, staff 2, six notes from end; equivalent to *Greer*, p. 58, bars 8-9, Alto, with Textual Commentary at p. 200. Two semibreves were printed with dots, seemingly in all copies of 1600, but neither dot should have been there. The second dot was then scraped away; see Illus. 2, where the erased dot precedes the sign '3'. This careful and slightly hazardous procedure would have been required for all 1000+ copies of sheet G. The first dot, however, remains in place, again seemingly in all copies of 1600, and gives rise to an incorrect reading. Possibly East was wrongly instructed; perhaps he misunderstood the instructions. In *Greer*, the first dot has been corrected and reported, but there is no mention of the erased second dot, which may have been mistaken for a blemish.



Illus. 2: 1600, sig. G2^r, Alto voice, centre of staff 2; copy Manchester. Author's photograph.

No. 3. 'Sorrow, stay'. 1600, sig. C2^r, lute part, end of penultimate bar, seventh course (symbols below the tablature staff); equivalent to *Fellowes-Dart*, p. 16, lute part, penultimate bar, last bass note (d). See Illus. 3a and 3b. My first instinct was to view this as a press variant: the typesetter had initially placed the tablature 'd' below the barline (Illus. 3a), but this error was detected, the press stopped, the type adjusted, and the press-run completed with the correct reading (Illus. 3b). However, that scenario was challenged by close inspection of copy *Folger*, via the high-resolution online digital image. There, the 'd' is in its correct position, but is printed in a greyer ink and has a fuzzy outline. I now suspect that, in the early state, the 'd' was absent altogether. It was then added by stamp: a single type for 'd' was inked and carefully impressed on all copies that needed it. Copy *Folger* has it stamped in the correct position. Copy *Magdalen* has it stamped incorrectly below the barline; that error was then emended by deletion and insertion in manuscript, possibly by one of East's team, possibly by a later owner/user. If this is indeed one of East's 'fourte faltes', then it must have been detected between proofing and completion of the regular press-run. That would mean that, although the correction would not be required in every one of 1000+ copies of sheet C, nonetheless all 1000+ copies would need to be 'perused' in order to make sure they were all correct.



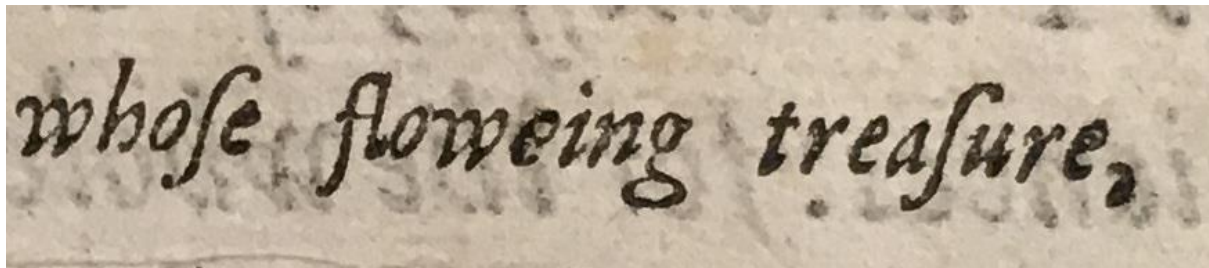
Illus. 3: 1600, sig. C2^r, lute part, end of penultimate bar; (a) copy *Magdalen*; (b) copy *Bodleian*. Author's photographs.

No. 4. 'Clear or cloudy'. 1600, sig. M1^v, voice and lute, ending ('[out-ring-]eth'); equivalent to *Greer*, p. 80, bars 13-14, with Textual Commentary at p. 201. During the press-run, the forme used to print this page was adjusted twice, giving rise to three different states; see Illus. 4a-c. In the earliest state (Illus. 4a, copy *Boston*) there is no barline before the final sonority, and the last duration in the tablature is printed as a crotchet (tablature flag with two tails). The press was stopped and barlines added, giving rise to the middle state (Illus. 4b, copy *RCM*); presumably the final duration was still a crotchet, but it has been concealed in this copy by a cancel slip that turns it into a minim (flag with one tail). Printing was resumed but the press then stopped again, this time to convert the lute's final duration into a minim; see Illus. 4c (copy *Bodleian*), in which the one-tail symbol is now printed directly on to the sheet. East and his staff would have needed to 'peruse' all 1000+ copies of sheet M to make sure that cancel slips were pasted into all earliest- and middle-state copies. Copy *Boston* (Illus. 4a) probably once had a cancel slip that has now fallen away.



Illus. 4: 1600, sig. M1^v, voice and lute parts, ending; (a) copy *Boston*; (b) copy *RCM*; (c) copy *Bodleian*. Image (a): Internet Archive / Boston Public Library; images (b) and (c): Author's photographs.

No. 5. Eastland's dedicatory verse address to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. 1600, sig. A2^v; transcribed in *Fellowes-Dart*, p. [vii]. In 1600, line 7 includes the printed word 'flowring', but in the four copies viewed by Scott and Dart this has been changed in manuscript to read 'floweing'. This error occurs in content supplied by Eastland, not by Dowland, so that might seem to disqualify it from being one of East's 'foure faltes in the copie booke ... not knowne of till the [printed] booke was fully finished'. However, if the typesetters worked from a fair copy, and not directly from Eastland's autograph material, then the error could have arisen during transcription, and therefore indeed be one of the 'foure faltes in the copie booke'. It was emended in more than one way. In some copies of 1600, the offending letter 'r' was partly or wholly scraped away, the manuscript 'e' then added over the erasure; see Illus. 5 (copy *Bodleian*). In others, the letter 'e' is more crudely written over the printed 'r'. This correction probably needed to be made to all 1000+ copies of sheet A, and it does occur in seven of the copies viewed by me. However, it is not present in copy *Huntington*. Might this copy have been released before the mistake was spotted?



Illus. 5: 1600, sig. A2^v, dedicatory verse address to Lucy, Countess of Bedford; copy *Bodleian*. Author's photograph.

For the sake of completeness, two further changes made by hand to copies of 1600 should be mentioned, if only to exclude them from the 'foure faltes'.²² The first is quickly dismissed. On sig. I1^v ('White as lilies'), continuation stanzas are printed at the foot of the page, and in all copies of 1600 the last stanza lacks its final line. As reported in *Greer*, p. 201, copy *Bodleian* makes good this deficiency through a line of text added untidily in manuscript. No other copy has this insertion, so it is surely a reader's suggestion, not a repair made at the printing house. The second intervention, found on sig. C2^v ('Die not before thy day'), concerns the lowest staff of the vocal part: it was printed with an incorrect flat signature, placed one staff-line too low, but in all copies the signature was subsequently corrected by overwriting in manuscript. This looks like a simple error made by East's typesetter; it could hardly be blamed on a fault in the manuscript copy, unless the typesetter deliberately reproduced it from incorrect copy in order to cause mischief.

Can we be sure, though, that typesetting and mischief did not sometimes go hand in hand? This possibility was raised by Jeremy Smith, when commenting on fault No. 4 above. Smith knew this page of 1600 from its middle and latest states (which he had viewed in copies *RCM* and *Manchester*), and he too observed the details shown in Illus. 4b and 4c. As he correctly points out, the cancel

²² Christopher Goodwin alerts me to his forthcoming paper hypothesising an explanation for a completely different kind of mistake in Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs*: the disastrous omission of the second verse of song no. 18, 'Faction that ever dwells' – namely (Goodwin suggests) an ill-placed page turn in Dowland's probable source for the poem, Thomas Newman's unauthorised 1591 edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* sonnet cycle.

slip in copy *RCM* conceals a printed crotchet (flag with two tails); but that duration, even if incorrect, would be irrelevant in performance, because the symbol relates to a final chord, which can be held for as long as the player likes. ‘From this circumstance’, he says, ‘it is possible to speculate that East had actually found a minor “faulte” in the printer’s copy but pretended it was a serious problem in order to charge Eastland more money for the extra labor of production’.²³ It is an ingenious interpretation, and if correct it would be a fascinating instance of sharp practice by a printer seeking to make more work for himself and his staff; but it can be challenged.²⁴ Smith focusses on this single fault; he passes silently over East’s claim that were three others, and he therefore misses the point that two of them would be hard to attribute to sharp practice. Errors Nos. 1 and 2 are both incorrect durations in polyphonic vocal lines. No. 2 especially would be hard or impossible to detect through silent perusal of the notation alone, and would reveal itself only in performance. How, then, could East’s typesetters have known that they were indeed errors? Did the typesetters deliberately sabotage the manuscript copy, generating fault No. 1 by converting a minim into a crotchet, and adding two dots to make fault No. 2, in order to make more work for themselves? That might have happened, but this is starting to look suspiciously like a conspiracy theory.

Alternative explanations are possible. Two come to mind that are equally plausible, and they might also have co-existed. The first is that there were in fact two manuscript copies, one of which was authorial and error-free, the other a transcript containing the four faults, and the typesetters worked from the latter. Second, the errors could have come to light when musicians sang and played from the freshly printed sheets, in order to make sure that everything was fully correct, prior to publication. Could there be a better way of checking for notational faults than through performance? For instance, a singer who encountered fault No. 1 or 2 would quickly notice that something was amiss; a lutenist faced with No. 3 (in its early state) would see straight away that a symbol is missing; and fault No. 4 simply looks wrong, because final durations in the tablature in *1600* are typically minims or semibreves, not crotchets. If my suspicions are correct, then we may here be glimpsing one or two practices which, to the best of my knowledge, have never been posited before, namely the availability of two manuscript copies (not one alone) during the production process, and the use of performance from the printed sheets as a means of checking for accuracy. My quest for the ‘four faults’ therefore leads to this final observation: we need to think afresh about the methods that might have been used at the printing house in order to attain maximum accuracy, especially in a complex music edition such as Dowland’s *Second Booke of Songs*.

²³ Smith, *Thomas East*, 42.

²⁴ In his analysis, Smith uses the singular form ‘... faulte’ (once with this ellipsis), without explaining that this tacitly abbreviates the document’s reading (as transcribed by Dowling) of ‘four faults’. His discussion then proceeds as if there were only one fault in need of correction.

DOMENICO FERRABOSCO REVISITED

BY THOMAS MORLEY (TOO)

DAVID PINTO

Domenico Maria Ferrabosco's 'To mi son giovinetta', a hardy perennial in continental collections from 1542, was never printed in England, and no copy from Thomas Morley's lifetime (c.1557–1602) is extant; yet Morley's 'Now is the gentle season' parodies it.¹ Domenico ventured from Bologna no closer to London than Paris. Did Morley even know his forenames? Not one of over 40 versions extant, usually labelled 'Fer(r)abosco' *tout court*, has them. He died in 1574: ten years on and more, lute-intabulations even credited his son, Alfonso Ferrabosco I.² He visited England twice; he served Elizabeth I, then bolted. (Alfonso II, his abandoned son, graced court in turn after Morley's day.) Domenico's *ballata* did gain now-vanished English verse underlay, no translation, it will be shown. Using it, Morley parodied the music in his main project of 1594, the first printed set of (ostensibly) wholly English madrigals. He even owned the debt in oddly minimal code; but why? It could have dented the novelty. In the event he pulled off a success, as a reprint attests. Still, why risk homage to a shadowy forebear's outmoded model? Morley was prone to borrow foreign contemporaries' handiwork elsewhere, wholly unowned; opportunist excursions, incurring charges of plagiarism. The distinct *modus operandi* of this foray is that it is *almost* overt; reasons for that merit examining. Dabbling in waters so murky could raise excess mud. One can avoid that by a focus on overlooked detail: a distinctive nicety in a typographic domain that so far seems to have escaped all notice.

Morley's light fingers were spotted by Oliphant over 180 years ago: his propensity for piracy ran to published madrigals, and so counts as brazen passing off.³ He 'adjusted' motets by Peter Philips and Philippe Rogier, best returned to sender.⁴ To credit him as author would infer regard for his work in far-flung foreign fields; an improbable reverse flow. Stylistic variance also argues against basic input by him. (Why too would any copyist conjure his name to cover for *anonyma*?) In this case, he echoed and expanded: an atypically creative rehandling adds to his proprietary range. Ferrabosco's succinct model notated a formal colon early on, to mark off an opening *ripresa*. On

¹ *Madrigalls to Fovre Voyces . . . The First Booke* (London: Thomas East, 1594), nos. 9-10; viewed most easily in *The English Madrigalists* (EM) = *The English Madrigal School* (EMS), vol. 2, ed. E.H. Fellowes, rev. T. Dart. Ferrabosco's original is scored in A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton NJ, 1949), vol. iii, no. 30, with a transposed version widely accessible in *The Oxford Book of Italian Madrigals*, ed. A. Harman (Oxford, 1983), no. 7. Joseph Kerman noted the borrowing; not in *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York, 1961), but in 'An Italian Musician in England, 1562-78', *Revista de Musicología*, 16/1, Del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología: Culturas Musicales Del Mediterráneo y sus Ramificaciones, vol. 1 (1993), 561-73. He placed a fuller form in *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Oakland CA, 1998), III.5. Unawares, the present writer named it in 'The Madrigal-Fantasia: Italian Influences in Seventeenth-Century English Music', *A Viola da Gamba Miscellanea*, ed. S. Orlando (Limoges, 2005), 94-127, a paper first read 14 November 1995 at a colloque in Limoges. I gladly acknowledge kindly advice from Peter Holman, John Milsom, and earlier from David Paisey (British Library).

² *Pratum Musicum* (Antwerp, 1584) and *Gemma Musicalis* (Nuremberg, 1588) give lute versions erroneously ascribed to 'Alfonso Ferabosco'; see *Domenico Maria Ferrabosco (1513-1574): Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Charteris, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 102, no. 46 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1992), 150-2 for the music, and xii and commentary for a copious complete source-list categorised by RISM (*Recueils Imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e Siècles*).

³ T. Oliphant *La Musa Madrigalesca* (London, 1837), *passim*; also Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*.

⁴ L. Pike "'Gaude Maria virgo': Morley or Philips?", *Music & Letters* 50 (1969), 127-35; P. Phillips, "'Laboravi in gemitu meo": Morley or Rogier?", *Music & Letters* 63 (1982), 85-90. GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 29372-5 (the sole musical source) accredits to Morley 'Nolo mortem peccatoris' a4 (its macaronic verse ascribed to John Redford in Add. MS 15233), but it seems over-archaic. GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 711, f. 49 (nineteenth century) contains Morley's 'Thou, o God, art praised in Sion'. John Morehen felt this overlooked anthem has little claim to be genuine, on grounds of style; see 'The English Anthems of Thomas Morley: A Ghost Story', *The Consort* 49 (1993), 1-12. This (transcribed *ibid.*, 8-12) is 'Domine fac mecum' a4, T. Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* (London: Peter Short, 1597), sig. (:)2v-3. Textual substitution, contrafactum, is liable to cloud recall in the best of us.

that basis Morley wrote pieces in disjunct parts, not implying delay between. First salient comparison is his incipit, reminiscent of the original chanson-like, homophonic *ripresa* keeping its exact rhythm and length (see Ex. 1).

The image displays a musical score for two parts: Morley's and Ferrabosco's. The score is written in two systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The Morley part is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The Ferrabosco part is in C major (no sharps or flats) and 4/4 time, transposed a fourth lower. The lyrics are written below the staves. The Morley part begins with the lyrics 'Now is the gentle season fresh-ly flowr-ing To sing and play and'. The Ferrabosco part begins with the lyrics 'Io mi son gio-vi-nett' e vo-lon-tie-ri M'al-legr' e cant' en'. The score is divided into measures by bar lines. The Morley part has a measure number '5' at the beginning of the second system. The Ferrabosco part has a measure number '5' at the beginning of the second system. The Morley part has a measure number '20' at the beginning of the third system. The Ferrabosco part has a measure number '12' at the beginning of the third system. The Morley part ends with a double bar line. The Ferrabosco part ends with a double bar line.

Morley

Now is the gen- tle sea- son fresh- ly flowr- ing To sing and play and

Ferrabosco (4th lower)

Io mi son gio- vi- nett' e vo- lon- tie- ri M'al- legr' e cant' en

5 dance while May en-du- reth

5 la sta- gion novella Mer- cé d'A- mor

20 The fields a- broad with spangled flowers are gil- ded

12 Io vo per verdi pra- ti risguar-

Ex. 1: The beginnings of Morley's two parts, paralleled in Ferrabosco (transposed a fourth lower for comparison).

His main ‘point’ in next place is even closer to Ferrabosco, prolonged discursively in the spirit of his extended aims. A freer third point ends matters. ‘The fields abroad’, his second part, opens by mirroring the start of Ferrabosco’s *stanza*. And so forth. But another aspect betraying his frame of mind rewards scrutiny: the text of his verse underlay.

Constraints on parodic method, if unknown, are open to queries. Morley’s remodelled *musical* frame varies all phrase-lengths after the first. It was then far from inevitable for English *verse* to follow Italian structure, in whole or even part; but it does, largely (texts are below). A similar but slightly drifted rhyme-scheme is then a gratuitous quirk in method – too wayward at first glance to allow fruitful conclusions. But did Morley set the Italian first, or start with a substitute *Frühlingslied* in English, slighter in theme? If the latter, did he commission it? If not concocted by anyone in his own circle, but handed on, was it in the first instance devised *for* Ferrabosco’s original? Chances are small that any unprinted verse of this sort, unknown elsewhere, was not meant to be set (and even smaller for anything totally independent being merged into the structure of other verse, through convergent evolution – applied to partially-related musical versions). But clumsy, casual wobbles in metre seem wholly unpurposive. ‘The meads are mantléd and closes’ (line 5) is no sort of English verse-line. ‘I bianchi fiori_e’ gialli’, its brief but regular precursor, gains an induced stutter if that hiatus is laid on it: ‘fiori || e’ gialli’. Still, can unliterary methods be ruled out? Was amateurish verse pressed regardless on a tribute of purely musical sort? Can one work on possibilities so nebulous?

William Byrd’s ‘La virginella’ à5 is a highly comparable prior case of proximate fit. Its wholly vocal version in *Psalmes, Songs and Sonets* (1588) has the same highest part as in its solo-line consort song form.⁵ Both alike break the first line as ‘La virginella || è simil’ alla rosa’. This gap is over a rest; eight more ametrical gaps between neighbour notes ignore synæresis, the idiomatic merging of adjacent vowels.⁶ These instances yield criteria of priority. Nicholas Yonge published his Englished version in the same year as Byrd’s, in *Musica Transalpina*, vol. 1 (*MT I*): ‘The faire young Virgin, is like the Rose vntaynted’. That first line has to sport an ametric extra syllable: not the last to do so. To create any verse, Yonge (or participating friends) had to paper over the divisive cracks: distort metre. He had also to bulk out musical phrases with anodyne syllables, emphasised by italics on first insertion only: ‘*all*’ and ‘*doe*’.⁷ Furthermore, he is sole source for Byrd’s completing second part: no precursor is known. In totally metric English, it begins ‘But not so soone’; a four-syllable clause to four notes, then a rest. The first clause in Italian, ‘Ma non sì tosto’, simply cannot fit.⁸ Titlepages imply that *both* parts had been in Italian and ‘brought to speake English with the rest’: pure window-dressing for potential buyers.⁹ Publishing under Byrd’s ægis, ‘*Cum Privilegio*’, Yonge surely solicited this bonus, one never revalidated in Byrd’s own scheme of work. It could have come too late to insert, of course, since Thomas East had registered Byrd’s issue on 6 November 1587. One suspects though that amplifying the isolated first part was beyond Byrd’s main intent.

⁵ Byrd’s published Italian-texted version (*Psalmes, Songs and Sonets*, no. 24) is cited: editions regularise spelling as ‘verginella’, and so forth. The same stanza is in the consort song transcript, GB-Och, Mus. 984-8, no. 68 (Dow Partbooks), but a little garbled; ‘vngia dosa’ for ‘rugiadosa’.

⁶ Those within continuous musical phrases are lines 3 ‘sola || è sicura’, 4 ‘se le || auicina’, 6 ‘terra, || al’, 7 ‘donne || innamorata’, 8 ‘Amano || hauerne || e seni || e tempie || ornate’.

⁷ Line 3 ‘sole and *all* vntoucht’, line 6 ‘fauors *doe* cheare it’ (original italics): Tenor, Bass only, bars (breves) 9, 22. *Musica Transalpina*, [i] ed. N. Yonge (London, 1588), nos. 43-45 with Byrd’s second part as paired English part-songs (Ludovico Ariosto *Orlando Furioso* I stanzas 42-3). See *Musica Transalpina (1588)*, ed. D. Greer, The English Madrigalists (EM) 42 (London, 2011).

⁸ Only lines 2 and 7 out of the eight in English have comparable flow to the original stanza. Rebottling this translated wine in Italian is short of a fiasco, but still (as tried by at least one singing ensemble) unconvincing.

⁹ W. Byrd, *Madrigals, Songs and Canons*, ed. P. Brett, The Byrd Edition (BE) 16 (London, 1976) edited all three forms (nos. 1, 19). Its view that Yonge’s second part was never in Italian was based simply on regularity of its verse underlay: commentary to piece no. 1.

It would have shifted a spotlight away from a showpiece set in italics, as befitted a foreign-language nonpareil – an only instance, but for foreign phrases, proper names and rubrics. On the printed page, incidentally, Byrd chose *not* to label its now-assumed solo line ‘The first singing part’. If it really had been a ‘consort song’ in origin (a modern genre-term, not his), that would be a slip by his rule for all others here. Listing in a prefatory table for songs ‘of the highest compasse’ does not go far enough to endow it with placement in the category, without any differentiable solo quality.

Yonge inserted similar monosyllables elsewhere, on the whole consistently. A relevant rarer type developed: italics in brackets. Girolamo Conversi, ‘Zephrus brings the tyme’ (*MT* I, no. 53) gives an additive ‘of (*sweet*) byrds’, Tenor line 12, all three times. The second part of Luca Marenzio, ‘I sovng, sometime’ (*MT* I, no. 57) has in line 9 ‘and (*too*) dispightfull’, with or without brackets. Elements in Yonge compare in method of copy to Morley’s *Madrigalls*, if now with scope altered from East’s previous print-work (he set both). Its task became highlighting underlay added to a *prior* English version: a semantically distinct type of addition, since it indicated unique text *incorporated into fresh music*. The vital small clues proving this to be the case are just as those for Yonge, but harder to spot because of a hidden snag: modern practice by editors, in editions of both publications.

English Madrigal Verse (*EMV*), standard compendium of verbal texts, justifiably modernised spelling and regularised much detail beyond. Its inceptor Edmund Fellowes instanced Morley in his preface as the chief recidivist for loose standards; light, aire-like forms provoked him most into responding by casual frolics in phrasing (Fellowes considered it an ‘early’ trait).¹⁰ In any case, metrical form is not always clear in underlay to musical staves, whether printed or not; no ‘best state’ of line or stanza may be attainable from it, if no other form is extant. Word-order and wording outright can diverge to differing degrees relatively freely between partbooks. Even in publications of solo song, underlay to the music can vary in presentation if laid out as separate text on the same page.¹¹ Dr Fellowes did aim to note errors (as did his revisers for variants between parts, and editions), but not punctuational minutiae. This combination of policies to minimise intractable quirks can remove relevant, significant particulars from view, where best not overlooked. *EMV* in its latest incarnation added *MT* I, with thoughtful attention to its verbal variants as well as interpolations; but not to all, and not to use of italic. Modern approach to underlay has visited the same deficit in handling on ‘Now is the gentle season’, and so misjudges Morley’s preciser, soberer side. Punctuated here *as printed*, three obtruded monosyllables in his lines 3, 5, 9 were exactly marked by placement *within* brackets, and *without* italicisation. These triple isolates alone produce the uneven metre; more visible if set against the evener pace of Ferrabosco’s original (after Boccaccio).¹²

¹⁰ *English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632*, ed. E.H. Fellowes, rev. F.W. Sternfeld and D. Greer (Oxford, 3/1967). This (*EMV*) standardises underlay, as does *The English Madrigalists*.

¹¹ Textual variants for accompanied non-madrigalian song are, happily, presented exhaustively in *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* ed. E. Doughtie (Cambridge MA, 1970). Byrd in 1588 is unusual as a ‘madrigalian’ issue by printing subsequent verses at the foot of the page for many items; it is through an origin as strophic songs, many to texts of fairly worthy moralistic type.

¹² Reprints kept close to the earliest printed music in most respects, though modernising accidentals tended to appear from the 1580s. The text taken for comparison is from *Musica Divina*, attributed there as usual to ‘Ferabosco’; the largest verbal divergences are from original lines 3 ‘e dolci’, 4 ‘pei verdi prati riguardando’, 7 ‘gli uo somigliando’. This anthology is the most likely source for three extant early seventeenth-century English manuscript copies. The earliest preserves Italian underlay: GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 3665 pp. 55-54, ff. 28-27 (stratigraphic score, c.1610-17), ascribed by its Italophile copyist to ‘Alfonso Ferabosco il Auo’ (viz Alfonso Ferrabosco I).

VIII. CANTVS.

Las affaies mee, & grief doth so forme to tor-
ment mee, that how can Ioy con- tent mee when hope and faith and
all no whit auails mee? O gentle Loue, O gentle gentle Loue, O
gentle Loue, o graunt mee lesse to grieue mee, or grieue mee
more, ij. or grieue mee more, and griefe will soone relieue mee.



IX. CANTVS.

Now is the gentle season freshly flowring, to
sing and play and dance while May endu-
reth, while May endu- reth, while May en- dureth, to sing & play & dance
while May endureth, while May endu- reth, and woce & wed (toe) ij.
& woce & wed (toe) ij. and woce & wed, & woce and
wed (toe) and woce and wed, that sweet delight procureth.



C ij The

Illus. 1a: Thomas Morley *Madrigalls* (1594) nos. IX-X: line I

X. CANTVS.

The fields abroad with spangled flowres are guided,
The fields abroad with spangled flowres are guid-
ded, with spangled flowres are guided. The meades (are) mantled, the meades (are) mantled,
the meades (are) mantled, the meades (are) mantled and closes in,
May each bush a- rayed, & sweet & sweet wilde roses, and sweet wilde ro-
ses, the Nightingale hir boure hath gay- ly builded, the Nightingale hir
bowre hath gayly hath gayly build- ded, and full of kindly lust, and
Loues inspi- rings I loue I loue, ij. I loue I loue (the)

X. CANTVS.

sings hark ij. hir mate desiring, and full of kindly lust, &
Loues inspi- ring: I loue I loue ij. I loue I loue (the)
sings hark ij. hir mate desiring.



Come

Illus. 1b: Thomas Morley *Madrigalls* (1600) nos. VII-VIII (*sic*): line III

Ferrabosco

Io mi son giouenett' et volontieri
 m' allegr' e cant' en la stagion nouella
 merce d'amor et di dolci pensieri.
 Io vo per verdi prati risguardando
 I bianchi fiori & gialli
 Le rose in su le spin' e bianchi gigli
 & tutti quanti vo somigliando
 al viso di colui ch'amando mi
 mi prese & terra sempre.

Morley

Now is the gentle season freshly flowring,
 to sing and play and daunce while May endureth;
 and wooe and wed (toe), that sweet delight procureth.
 The fields abroad with spangled flowres are guilded.
 The meads (are) mantled, and closes,
 in May each bush arayed, and sweet wilde roses,
 the Nightingale hir bowre hath gayly builded,
 and full of kindely lust and Loues inspiring;
 I loue (she) sings hark, hir mate desiring.

5

Underlay to *both* editions of *Madrigalls* (1594, 1600) prints the parentheses, alike in all partbooks (see Illus. 1a, 1b). Even in absence of other known textual forms, enclosed monosyllables reveal precise intent. These bracket-pairs gaugeably test the norms by enclosing *interpolations*. 'Clozers', parentheses, were used increasingly by this period, usually to signal matter subsidiary to the main sense. A current treatise on poetics formulated 'insertour' to denote text so enclosed, *qua* rhetorical figure of speech.¹³ Morley's instances obey no such rule. His closed-off words are (as in *MT I*) incidental in sense, and play havoc with regular iambics, but are not a whit extraneous to syntax within normal sentence-structure. Without them, one still must note, grammar would be far from arrant nonsense, if terser or denser. The difference is that his are integral to his *musical* phrases. Instances in *MT I* cannot have that claimed: music there was the 'given', not text. Morley's shows specialised additions to pre-set verse, so as to relax tighter, regularly metrical phrasing, for a *new musical setting*.¹⁴ By this labelling he must have aimed to provide to added words extra semi-public status, mainly for readers in the know: *former users of that same text*. For whom else, in any item's revised state, could one need to signal additionality or superfluity? To observe a tacit procedural marker for rule-shift on a basis of trivial detail derives weight by pivoting on a larger absence in his practice elsewhere for underlay. This, the only piece so-treated in this set, departs from that converse habit with brackets: occasional hypermetric interjections, short and unintegral, usually extraneous to any required current sense, and added casually – the bugbear for Fellowes. Total instances in that looser casual category are, for this particular collection:

- III. 'Why sit I heere complaining?': 'heere (alas) complaining?' in Cantus alone.
- III. 'Since my teares and lamenting': '(Out alas) alas' first time, Cantus alone; others have simply 'Out alas alas' unbracketed. It seems a reverse slip for 'Out alas (alas)'; inconsistent compositing.
- XIII. 'Beesides a fountaine': 'heard I two Louers (loueing) talk these sweet and waton gloses': Cantus and Altus give the bracketed extra word, absent in Tenor and Bassus. Also, an interjection 'alas' is set out by *all* parts as 'then cried the Nimphe (alas) you well do know it'. These 'clozers' invert normative use, which is for brackets to contain the 'quotative phrase' (s/he said), not the reported speech. This interpolation, then, is not one of the others for the nonce found elsewhere here.
- XVII. 'Hark iolly shepheards': 'hark (alas) how cheerefully': '(alas)' interpolated in Cantus alone, quite ineptly for context. It could just be taken to anticipate a more querulous mood in text to follow. Occurrences above, though, suggest that it was a fairly unthinking stock recourse for Morley.

A clear trail left by 'Now is the gentle season' reveals pre-existent English, worded so as to match *to the syllable* a foreign text: 'Io mi son giovinetta'.¹⁵ Morley reshaped it, adding monosyllables to his underlay where his musical ear created expansions: no doubt taking canny note of Yonge's resort to padded wording. His first addition-marking bracket renders all voices using his line 3

¹³ C. Moore, *Quoting Speech in Early English* (Cambridge, 2011), § 1.3.2, 73-6 on John Hart (at 74), and nearer Morley's publication-date, George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). His 'insertour' is for the type of trope 'when ye will seeme for larger information or some other purpose, to peece or graffe in the midst of your tale an vnecessary parcell of speech, which neuerthelesse may be thence without any detriment to the rest.' (III xii.) Puttenham, it may be said, is too conscious a word-artist to strait-jacket his own usage for parenthetical matter by cast-iron distinctions over its type of relevancy.

¹⁴ East extends use of brackets (seemingly later introduced in *MT I*), only for additions to a *pre-set* text.

¹⁵ Morley's line 6 set 'arayed' as a trisyllable; if in his model, it would have been disyllabic to fit the music.

incongruent with Ferrabosco's original, simple four-note homophony: 'mercé d'Amor' repeated just once. Morley's counterpoint here is a type of rhythmic interplay from the preceding phrase, reshaped: on a text 'and woove and wed (toe)' – *vi*z 'too'. That new five-note phrase keeps '(toe)' bracketed in both editions, in each repeat and all instances (a last repeat leading into a cadential clause just omits it).¹⁶ It cannot fit Ferrabosco's Italian, and all Morley's wording is integral to his music; the union cannot be picked apart in the slightest. He *may* of course have begun by setting the Italian text, unaltered. He would then, by this third phrase, have changed tack to English, compelled by emerging musical logic; but that seems over-tortuous to consider, against simpler likelihoods. Homage to Ferrabosco's *music* is certain proof that Morley knew it; his handling of *verbal* text shows that he also knew it in its former use. Clipped of Morley's extras, that parallel text or contrafactum works to Ferrabosco's music – just. Still, additions are normalising or else idiomatic. Ferrabosco's repeated 'ch'amandomi', line 8, gave licence to make use of the musical extension and expand line 9 by a foot in the intervening contrafactum, it seems possible to guess.¹⁷ Its exact wording must remain hypothetical, failing its separate survival (thus affecting any other rewordings or deletions by Morley, in the absence of specific signs for *those* operations).

It can be added that the rewording process departs from expected norms as observed in *MT I*, the major purely madrigalian publication preceding, as wide-ranging as its successor volume *MT II* (1597), which copied 'madrigalisms' of the originals point by point, in verbal parallels. Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590), devoted largely to Luca Marenzio, contrasts with it by making a point on its very title-page of rewording 'not to the sense of the originall dittie, *but after the affectation of the Noate*' (original italics).¹⁸ Morley's versifier comes down on this side. No reason emerges incidentally to suspect him to be Watson, who would hardly have deigned to versify such an archaic piece casually, then put it aside, to surface two years after his death. This particular case of a musical imitation places it apart from outright Italian settings by court composers and their associates: John Coprario, Thomas Lupo, John Ward.¹⁹ Morley also trod their path; his 'Mi sfidate, guerriera' à5 seems for once a musically original setting. Resupplied, the now-lost Italian underlay, deducible from its title-incipit, gives exact verbal fit.²⁰ In a linked category are parallel Italian-English printed versions for his *balletti*. In contrast, on a musico-verbal level, 'Now is the gentle season' is inextricable from its model in Ferrabosco and its own created form: a small affectionate adaptation in Morley's most intimately-felt style.

A later version of 'Io mi son giovinetta' to a devotional English replacement, copied into two sets of partbooks now at Christ Church, Oxford, exemplifies a reverse tendency.²¹ Its deviser respected Ferrabosco's verbal cadences but mishandled *musical* form to different effect from

¹⁶ *EMV* in fact omits 'too' from its text—censors it, though musically underpinned, and present in every part.

¹⁷ Ferrabosco part-reversed the line 'al viso di colui che me amando | (ha presa)', doing his bit to recast metre for rhythm's sake: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. V. Branca (Torino, 1992).

¹⁸ The quoted italicised wording is on the title-page: *The first sett, | Of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (London: Thomas East, 1590). Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, ch. 2 (39-72), a classic exploration of anthology practice, comments on the impenetrability of Watson's intent, going by his prefatory matter, unless to claim a superior literary niche. See *Thomas Watson Italian Madrigals Englished*, ed. A. Chatterley, *Musica Britannica* 74 (London, 1999).

¹⁹ Coprario, Fantasia à5, VdGS no. 48 evokes Marenzio's 'O voi che sospirate', *Libro Secondo* (1581); see J. Wess 'Musica Transalpina, Parody, and the Emerging Jacobean Viol Fantasia', *Cheyls* 15 (1986), 3-25 for this and other borrowings. Coprario's Fantasia à4, VdGS no. 2 quotes the head-motif of a canzonet, Hans Leo Hassler's 'Io son ferito, Amore'; see David Pinto *for ye viols: The Consort and Dance Music of William Lawes* (London 1995), 78. Hassler in turn mirrored Palestrina 'Io son ferito, ahi lasso' à5.

²⁰ Sole source for Morley's piece, slightly defective, is Egerton MS 3665, ff. 465v-6. The verse is by Giuliano Gosellini, as set by Ruggiero Giovanelli; see Pinto 'The Madrigal-Fantasia'.

²¹ GB-Och, Mus. 750-3 item 26; (a linked copy) Mus 1074-7 item 23, a version devised c.1620-7. No musical source is named. Text as given in David Pinto 'Pious Pleasures in Early Stuart London', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 41 (2008), 1-24. Though undiscussed in that article, *Musica Divina* (1591) is a probable source for them and Morley's version; see fn. 12 and below. An error in common with Egerton MS 3665 is for all three copies to lower Altus bar 5 note 4 by a tone, a self-defeating attempt to evade dissonant chording.

Morley. Its text ignores the still-notated *cæsura* after the first phrase; sense ploughs on regardless. The music *was* being used purely as a mannequin to hang out replaced textual cloth. Morley's method reflects the original concept-flow, though his last line (9) is as extrametric; or had already become too much so to fit an Italian text to the syllable. Verbal repetition in Ferrabosco's last line, drawing out the musical length, may have been taken as licence for extra wording *before* the English reached Morley. Use of the word 'hark' may be filler derived from that precursor, since he did not bracket it (the same addition of a syllable is seen in the sacred contrafactum).

Say god should sende on us a persecution	1
to purge away our sinfull soules polutione,	2
shall we like cowards base for feare or terror [NB musical <i>cæsura</i> ignored lines 3-4]	3
The sauinge truth denyinge cleaue to erre	4
No like to valyante championes [unto bold Martyres] feares exiling [championes/]	5
letts outface death and wellcome him with smylinge	6
And on our Sauioure steadfastlye relying	7
In spight of cruell torment like to sylver swannes	8
letts sweetely singe before our dyinge	9

Well before links to Ferrabosco were made, Joseph Kerman delivered views on Morley's 'antiquated' piece.²² If points now need reconsidering, just that is revealing for Morley's purposes in harping on the past. 'The poem itself sounds old-fashioned.' ('Now is the gentle season', that is.) Equally one can call it constrained by heritage; keeping style and metre precisely in order to echo its model. The start is 'harmonically stiff by Italian standards': explained by its model's early date. The second part opens 'with a strict, unmadrigalesque contrapuntal idea': again an early trait in the model (higher-lower paired imitative duos). 'For the last two lines . . . Morley suddenly introduces a very lovely homophonic idea which is quite different in style from the rest of the piece and as remote from anything in Italian music . . . a fragment of real tune, surely related to English popular song or to the more sophisticated lute-air. Possibly it even quotes from some existing native source.' On the contrary: Morley mimics and caps Ferrabosco directly, with distinct success. 'I love I love', a winning phrase repeated over and over, derives from the lively 'ch' amandomi': not un-Italian at all—nor un-English either, if by coincidence some folk substratum may also infect it.

'Since my teares and lamentinge', no. IIII in Morley's set, reworks Orlando di Lasso's 'Poi ch'el mio largo pianto': Oliphant first called that 'the original' for Morley. He commented with justice how meagre Morley's underlay was for it; deficient maybe as translation, but less so if a counterpart type of contrafactum—howsoever defined. Kerman found its opening adherence to rhythm in Lasso awkward, leading to a suggestion that Morley did here begin with the Italian text. (That on balance seems unconvincing, involving using the same music twice for the one eleven-syllable Italian line, and not Morley's practice for 'Now is the gentle season', as the above discussion establishes.) 'He also found it 'striking that Morley should borrow from a composer so old-fashioned for the time', meaning Lasso. Reverently adapting trusty older models was in fact typical of his milieu: compare John Dowland's reminiscences or quotations of Alfonso Ferrabosco I, Lasso, and Marenzio. Giles Farnaby (who seems to have been in a Dowland camp rather than Morley's) took the Cantus line of Lasso's 'Susanne un jour' in his *Canzonets* (1598) over texted lower parts that read rather like a faster-moving instrumental accompaniment, vocalised. Morley may well have thought he was handling Alfonso I, especially if one can locate the material cause of his imitation in a reprint of both these pieces in anthology form, three years beforehand. They are adjacent in *Musica Divina* (à4-7), nos. [2-3]: Lasso, then Ferrabosco.²³ This, Pierre Phalèse's first

²² Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, 187-8.

²³ Oliphant, *La Musa Madrigalesca*, 76 tracked it to *Musica Divina*, 1588 edition. Giulio Eremita's name erroneously replaces Lasso's in S. Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1558-1603* (Farnham and

Antwerp anthology, appeared in 1583; its extant impression of 1591 has long been in England in one copy or other.²⁴ This dispels residual mystery over origin, and the turn to non-contemporary styles. The pieces came together to the notice of Morley. His presence in the Spanish Netherlands is known over a period of maybe months in 1591, up to September; its business involved surveying Antwerp's music trade almost as surely as any spycraft.²⁵ Equally, others had made it their business about then to amplify Englished Italian repertoire with sounds still fresh to a wider public. A hint of someone else is *ex silentio*. Morley did not try to revive repertoire of this vintage when, four years, later he proceeded to issue his own anthology of Italian five-part work. This only once employs 'clozers' to signal a textual variation, in no. XVII, unattributed: 'Thirsis on his faire Phillis brest'.²⁶ (His dedicatory preface here does not go into translatory method; possibly, a more floridly phrased up-dated repertoire made underlay easier to negotiate.) Yet he saw the attractions in the staid tradition that part-characterised Netherlandish anthologies. The reuse is a clue to whatever conscious strategy must have been in his most pioneering published work, opening way for others. It cannot have been any intent to issue a manifesto to advance innovative madrigalian fashions. His lack of due regard for that may even suggest limited awareness of current trends, in Italy at least. He was settling instead for a style evolved from less immediate historic influences. The odd vacillation in stopping just short of overtly acknowledging the source of his inspiration for a piece seems to show him balancing distaste at displaying origin with reluctant admission that it would be somehow unwise to refuse. Nicholas Yonge preceded, in using italics to highlight his amplifications to verse that he noted was provided by unnamed gentleman versifiers: a form of acknowledgement and respect. Morley's case may be the same, employing means of unitalicised brackets, if in one instance alone. It suggests a recognisable pre-existent class of potential customer, connoisseurs with as much knowledge as him of Netherlandish musical prints. They could have recognised the text and parodic musical borrowing, and cut up rough unless they were thrown some sop to include them too in his 'narrative', however anonymous. The need to own (or, almost) the double allegiance to music and its text brings us that bit closer to Morley: use of a mix of means to hand, to portray himself as the arbiter of elegance while moulding for an eager public a sense of novelty in his ventures.

Burlington VT, 2009), § 218. Nothing by Eremita is in *Musica Divina*, though source no. 30, by Filippo de Monte, sets the self-same text for six voices.

²⁴ *Musica Divina* | DI XIX AVTORI ILLUSTRI | A IIII. V. VI. ET VII. VOCI, NOVAMENTE | RACCOLTA DA PIETRO PHALESIO, | ET DATA IN LVCE. | *Nella quale si contengono, i più Eccellenti Madrigali | che hoggi si cantino.* | [frame of flowers: part-name] | IN ANVERSA. | Appresso Pietro Phalesio & Giouanni Bellerio. | [rule] | 1591. See *Bibliotheca Heberiana. Catalogue of the Library of the late Richard Heber, Esq. Part the Eighth. Removed from his house at Pimlico* (London, 1836), sale of Monday 29 February etc., lot 1765. A lot price £3 5s. 0d., noted in the Bodleian Library's copy of the catalogue, covers this plus *Harmonia Celeste* (1589), *Symphonia Angelica* (1590), *Melodia Olympica* (1591) and *Il Lauro Verde* (1591). *Il Lauro Verde*, Ferrarese but reprinted in Antwerp as here, may be another sign of English interest in wider repertoire around the time of Morley's first English collection, and of its transmission through transalpine sources for ease of purveyance. Not all in this group are now extant in England: *Musica Divina* at Christ Church is incomplete, added to with a book (Bassus) from later: *RISM* 1588¹⁶.

²⁵ T.A. Murray, 'Thomas Morley and the Business of Music in Elizabethan England', Ph.D. thesis (U. of Birmingham, 2010), ch. 2, esp. 69-88.

²⁶ MADRIGALS | TO | five voyces. | Celected out of the best approued | Italian Authors. (London, 1598); its most antiquated author was Alfonso Ferrabosco I. The variant is in Tenor alone. Where other voices give 'which to hir hart was euer nearest,' 'which to hir hart (still) was nearest,' is substituted. Alone in this piece, moreover, all voices resort to bracketing usage of near-quotative type, 'him kissing gently said (thus)'.

Appendix 1: Rhyme-Schemes

A 'To mi son giovinetta' B 'Now is the gentle season' C 'Say god should sende on us'

(A) Ferrabosco (original, after Boccaccio)	aba cddc <i>cb</i> (<i>c</i> rearranged, <i>b</i> incomplete)
(B) Morley (parody homage, on contrafactum)	abb cddc <i>ee</i>
(C) Christ Church (contrafactum of original)	aabb ccc dc

Appendix 2: Chief Printed Musical Sources

Author or editor. Short title and imprint. British Library shelfmarks if applicable (BL). *Sigla* for collections by year and superscript number within a year, after *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales* (RISM), B/I *Recueils Imprimés XVI^e-XVII^e Siècles*, ed. F. Lesure (Munich, 1960). *Short-Title Catalogue* number for a single-authored publication.

Primary Sources:

'To mi son giouinetta'

Il primo libro d'i madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori a misura di breve novamente con grande artificio composti et con ogni diligentia stampati et posti in luce quatuor vocum Venetij apud Antonium Gardane (1542), p. 28; author: 'Ferabosco'; no attribution of verbal text. RISM 1542¹⁷. Giovanni Boccaccio: *Decameron* Day Nine, conclusion. The start of Neifile's song, possibly an older ballata refined. Its setting in music breaks off in line 9, with small variants such as word-transposition.

'Now is the gentle season freshly flowring / The fields abroad with spangled flowres are guilded'
Thomas Morley *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces . . . The First Booke* (Thomas Este; London, 1594), nos. 9-10; 2nd edition (1600) where augmentation, by two lighter pieces, involved renumbering of these into 7-8. In both editions the verse is unascribed as usual. BL K.3.i.12. K.3.i.13. R.M.15.e.2.(3.), three copies. 2nd edition K.3.m.11. (lacking Cantus book). *STC* 18127-8.

English Anthologies:

Thomas Morley (ed.), *Madrigals to fve voyces. Celected . . .* (Thomas Este; London, 1598). BL K.3.i.14. RISM 1598¹⁵

Thomas Watson (ed.), *The first sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished.* (Thomas Este; London, 1590). BL K.3.k.12. RISM 1590²⁹

Nicholas Yonge (ed.) *Musica Transalpina* I (Thomas East; London, 1588). BL R.M.15.e.2.(1.). RISM 1588²⁹ [K.3.k.19. seemingly a 2nd edition c1593-5, without separate siglum]

————— *Musica Transalpina* II (Thomas Este; London 1597). BL K.3.k.20. RISM 1597²⁴

Other Anthologies:

Fridericus Lindnerus [Friedrich Lindner] (ed.) *Gemma Musicalis* (Nuremberg, 1588). BL A.251.d. RISM 1588²¹

Andrea [Andreas] Pevernage (ed.) *Harmonia Celeste* (Antwerp, 1589). RISM 1589⁹. [Edition of 1593, BL A.259. and A.259.c. both incomplete. RISM 1593⁴]

Pietro Phalesio [Pierre Phalèse] (ed.) *Il Lauro Verde* with two 8-part additions (Antwerp, 1591). BL A.277.c. RISM 1591⁸. [1st edition (Ferrara, 1583) RISM 1583¹⁰]

Pietro Philippi Inglese [Peter Philips] (ed.) *Melodia Olympica* (Antwerp, 1591). RISM 1591¹⁰. [Edition of 1594, BL A.344.f. A.344.g., two copies. RISM 1594⁷]

Pietro Phalesio [Pierre Phalèse] (ed.) *Musica Divina* (Antwerp, 1591). BL A.324.c. (CATQB, five partbooks out of six). RISM 1591¹¹. [Other: 1st edition 1583¹⁵; 1588¹⁶]

Emanueles Hadrianus [Emanuel Adriaenssen] (ed.) *Pratum Musicum Longe Amoenissimum* (Antwerp, 1584). RISM 1584¹² [No British source for this first edition; for that of 1592, BL K.8.g.1. RISM 1592²²]

Hubert Waelrant (ed.) *Symphonia Angelica* (Antwerp, 1585). BL A.559.a., A.559.b. and A.559.c. (editions of 1594, and 1611 RISM 1594⁸ and 1611¹²) [Also mentioned is another, RISM 1590¹⁷]

Appendix 3: *MTI*, instances of added monosyllables

Parts: (C)antus (A)ltus (T)enor (Q)uintus (S)extus (B)assus

This takes lineation in *EMV*, which scrolls on from a *prima parte* to the last. The one instance in the four-part section of *MTI* is its last item, no. xii.

xii 4-5: ‘why thē do you constraine mee, *cruell* to liue in plaint in paine & sadnesse, (C); thus too with small variants in spelling (TB); ‘why thē do you constraine mee, *cruell* to liue complaining, in paine & sadnesse,’ (A). This combines two lines, the second longer but lengthened again by Yonge. Cornelio Verdonch ‘Lady your looke so gentle’

xiii 5: neuer Nymph *yet*, (T); neuer Nymph *yet* (B). Fillippo de Monte ‘From what part of the heauen’

xvii 9: thinking it death *yet* (CAT). Luca Marenzio ‘Thirsis to die desired’ *2a pars* ‘Thirsis that heat refrained’ [noted *EMV*]

xviii 19: louers so fortunately ‘so’ added, but unitalicised (AQB). Luca Marenzio *3a pars* ‘Thus these two louers’ [noted *EMV*]

xxiii 8: storming [alternative for storms] (CA); storming . . . stormes (T); storming . . . storms (Q); storming (B) all unitalicised. Alfonso Ferabosco ‘I saw my Lady weeping’ [part-noted *EMV*]

xxiii 13: vpon hir *fayre and* louely (QT). Alfonso Ferabosco *2a pars* ‘Like as from heauen’

xxv 1: thy *sweet* selfe (CTB). Giouan Ferretti ‘So gracious is thy selfe’

xxvi 2: & wilt not leaue *yet*, (CTB; A unitalicised). Giouan Ferretti ‘Cruell vnkind’

xxxiii 9: *daintie deare hyfe*, (AT but italicised in error). Giouan Ferretti ‘Within a greenwood’

xxxv 3: & *much doe* cheare (A). Alfonso Ferabosco ‘Rvbyes and pearles’ [v for first u follows an initial]

xxxvi 10: I dye *now*, (QAT). Alfonso Ferabosco ‘O sweet kisse ful of comfort’ [I would correct *EMV* over structure, by dividing their line 3; this makes line 10 into line 11 of a 12-liner]

xli 4: still sayth so saith still saith (C); so sayth so sayth still saith (A); so saith still saith (T); so saith stil saith (QB) none italicised [part-noted *EMV*]. The intent seems to be ‘so saith’ succeeded by ‘still saith’ as more emphatically final; but not quite consistently. Giouan Battista Pinello ‘Cantio rustica. When I would thee embrace’

xliiii see above (fn 7). William Byrd ‘The faire young Virgin’

xlvi 8: keepe it in flames *still* (ATSB). Alfonso Ferabosco ‘These that bee certaine signes’ [text as *EMV* no. i, and so not repeated by it]

xlvi 3: and *still* repoused (TQB). Alfonso Ferabosco ‘So farre from my delight’ [noted *EMV*]

xlix 14: were mee to die *so*, (CQATSB). *2a pars* of xlviii foregoing

liii 12: of (*sweet*) byrds, (T, all three times). Gironomo Conversi ‘Zephirus brings the tyme’ *2a pars* ‘But with mee wretch’

lv 14: for Ioy *now*, (Q). Alfonso Ferabosco ‘I was full neare my fall’ *2a pars* ‘But as the byrd’

lvi 6: *all* naked (CTQS). Luca Marenzio ‘I sovng; sometime’ [noted *EMV*]

lvi 7: nor *yet* by (S)

lvi 8: *nor yet* my (C) [‘nor’ needing no italicisation] nor *yet* my (QS) [noted *EMV*]

lvii 9: and (*too*) dispightfull (C); & (*too*) dispightfull (S); and *too* dispightfull (A) ‘Because my Loue’ *2a pars* of lvi

EMV notes other casual verbal variations in Yonge; italicisation receives no comment.

THE BLOUNT MUSIC COLLECTION REVISITED: NEW EVIDENCE FOR EXILED ENGLISH CONVENT SCHOOLS AND EARLY MODERN MUSICAL TRANSFER

CAROLINE LESEMANN-ELLIOTT

In 1978, the book dealer Robin Waterfield purchased a collection of 17 musical manuscripts from the Blount family of Mapledurham House in Berkshire. The collection was sold in a single lot to the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Librarian at the behest of its music librarian, Peter Ward Jones. It was initially assessed by Margaret Crum, who was reportedly ‘quite excited’ about its contents.¹ Crum undertook the initial cataloguing work, producing preliminary inventories of the manuscripts and an assessment of possible provenances.² However, little subsequent work has been done on the collection, despite an initial acknowledgment of its rich contents.³ Crum’s initial assessment of the Blount collection was undertaken long before the development of digital resources and the rapid expansion of scholarship devoted to English Catholic women’s history, particularly English convent studies.

While the entire Blount collection deserves far more scholarly attention than it has so far received, this essay will focus on three manuscripts with connections to English convents in exile in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, using new resources – such as the *Who Were the Nuns?* database at Queen Mary, University of London – to build on initial research undertaken by Crum. It will argue that GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255 bears inscriptions suggesting that it was once used by two English Poor Clares at Gravelines before ending up used by an Anglo-Dutch woman in London. It will then highlight contextual evidence regarding the names, localities, and marginalia inscribed in GB-Ob, MS Mus. d. 247 and 248 – or as they shall be referred to in this essay, the ‘Blount’ and ‘Tichborne’ manuscripts respectively – that suggest they belonged to and were used by English Catholic girls studying at English convents in Paris, Dunkirk, and Pontoise. In doing so, it will comment on what music manuscripts from the Blount collection reveal about secular music in English convents, early modern education for English girls, and intersections between liminal figures in English music history. Dates are reproduced as they appear in the sources; where

¹ I am grateful to Colin Timms at the University of Birmingham for providing letters between himself, Margaret Crum, and Robin Waterfield Antiquarian Booksellers illuminating the process by which the Bodleian acquired the Blount music collection. I would also like to acknowledge the valuable assistance provided by Martin Holmes, Alfred Brendel Curator of Music at the Bodleian Library, for information about Margaret Crum’s role in assessing the Blount collection. I would also like to thank Valerie Rumbold for providing further insight into the lives of the Blount family.

² Letters from Robin Waterfield Booksellers also noted that, when the agency purchased the music library of Mapledurham House, there were also ‘a quantity of printed music’ within the collection, three items of which were purchased separately by the Bodleian, though what they were remains unknown. The agent notes, however, that ‘because [...] the collection has an 18th century provenance we would rather sell it as a unity: I think the reasons for this are obvious’.

³ C. Price and W.M.S. Rasmussen, ‘Musical Images in a Portrait of Teresa Blount’, *Early Music* 24 (1996), 64-76, at 68.

they are undated, new-style dating is used, following the general practice in studies of English convent culture.⁴

Mapledurham Estate, the Blount family
and an Overview of the Blount music collection

Five miles west of Reading lies Mapledurham house, a manor acquired in 1582 by Sir Michael Blount (c.1529–1609), Lieutenant of the Tower of London and Member of Parliament for Winchelsea.⁵ His descendants retained the estate at Mapledurham well into the twentieth century.⁶ The Blount family remained staunch Catholics throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, later sending no fewer than six women to be nuns between 1641 and 1650, mainly at the English Augustinian convent in Paris.⁷ The estate suffered under its eventual successor, Lister Blount (d. 1710), both due to mismanagement and double taxation for Catholics under the Acts of Popery of 1703.⁸

The 17 manuscripts range in date from the 1670s to, seemingly, the early nineteenth century. Just over half of them (GB-Ob, MSS Mus. d.249-252, 254-257, e.44, and e.46) are dedicated entirely to Italian operatic music, with the rest being primarily a mix of Italian opera, French and English dance music (arranged either for keyboard or violin), English continuo songs, and French vocal airs. Some interesting exceptions are GB-Ob, MS Mus. e.43 (c.1690s) and e.45. The former is half comprised of catches and glees, and the other half guitar music, which Monica Hall has noted features the same hand as a guitarist who taught Princess Anne.⁹ The latter primarily contains didactic material, French *comédie* of the 1700s, late seventeenth-century *airs sérieux* and *à boire*,¹⁰ items from Lully operas, and Venetian, Roman, and Neapolitan operatic arias. However it also features a vocal part for a piece, ‘Quid mihi, O bone Jesu’, by the obscure Austrian Benedictine composer and music collector Benedikt Lechler,¹¹ as well as anonymous settings of Latin carols, some of which are set to tunes popular in the Low Countries in the late seventeenth century.¹² Further research is required to unpack this manuscript, and its didactic purpose for the names inscribed, a ‘Francki’ and ‘Mrs Charity’.

Two of the three manuscripts analysed below include overlapping work by English and French music scribes. As such, it is worth pausing to summarise key differences between French and

⁴ See for example the ‘technical matters’ page of the *WWiN?* database.

⁵ ‘Mapledurham’, *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, 20: *The South Oxfordshire Chilterns: Caversham, Goring, and Area* (London, 2022), 269-302, at 277-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 278-9, 289-90.

⁷ See entries in the *Who Were the Nuns?* database (henceforth referred to as *WWiN?*) for: Cecily Blount (1626-1642, clothed in 1641), Mary Blount (1626-1684, clothed 1641), Jane Blount (n.d., clothed 1641), and their cousins, Elizabeth Browne (1631-1691, professed 1648), Winefride Browne (1629-1695, professed 1648), and Frances Browne (1628-1660, clothed 1648 at the English Franciscan convent in Bruges).

⁸ S. Jordan, ‘Gentry Catholicism in the Thames Valley, 1660-1780’, *British Catholic History* 27 (2011), 217-43.

⁹ I am grateful to Monica Hall for providing me with an inventory and list of concordances.

¹⁰ C. Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music, Power, and Place at Exiled English Convents in France and the Low Countries, 1660-1740’, Ph.D. diss. (Royal Holloway, U. of London, forthcoming) [Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music Power and Place’], Appendix B5.

¹¹ See concordances with A-KR, L 14 and D-DI, Mus.2-E-23 5.

¹² Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music Power and Place’, Appendix B5.

English music handwriting in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. English C clefs tend to have equally long parallel vertical lines on either side of the four horizontal lines denoting where C is, while French C clefs tend to have uneven verticals, the left one long, the right one short. English G clefs are often in an ‘H’ shape, comprising what resembles a lower-case ‘g’ and ‘s’ side by side. French G clefs tend to feature a backwards S-shape, with a larger top loop than at the bottom. French music scribes are also more likely to use G1 rather than G2 clefs, and to use crosses to indicate trills.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255

As Crum noted in her initial assessment of the collection, GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255 is a small, oblong book composed of four separate manuscripts bound into one volume, with 84 folios in total. The paper is seemingly pre-ruled, but with inconsistent marginal ruling and inconsistent stave measurement. Discrepancies in the folio numbering suggest the units were assembled separately prior to being bound into one volume.¹³ Some pages were ruled to leave space for a decorated initial on the left, suggesting the layout was carefully planned; see, for example, verse 2 of ‘Non son fatte se gioje’ on f. 49r (Illus. 1), as opposed to verse 1 of ‘Tu con frade m’ingannasti’ on f. 80r (Illus. 2). The small, oblong format of the manuscript and decorated initials are similar to seventeenth-century Italian cantata manuscripts. However, the hand has some northern European characteristics in terms of the clefs (particularly the G2 clef), time signatures, and the style of paraphs. It seems most likely that this book was copied by a scribe trained in England, France, or the Low Countries who modelled the book on the layout of Italian manuscripts. The watermarks suggest the paper was manufactured in the late seventeenth century, either in London or the Low Countries.¹⁴



Illus. 1: GB-Ob MS Mus. d.255, f. 47r, verse 2 of ‘Non son fatte se gioje’

¹³ Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music, Power, and Place’, ch. 3.

¹⁴ E. Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Hilversum, 1950). The closest matches for the Fleur-de-Lys on shield watermark are Heawood, 1730 (PL.253), or possibly Heawood, 1772 (both Amsterdam 1646, PL.239). For the IHS watermark, see Heawood, 2957 (Dutch, late seventeenth century, PL.378) or 2966 (London, 1680-1700, PL.379). Crum’s suggestion that the IHS/Crown watermark is ‘somewhat resembling’ Heawood 1789 (between 1690-1700, no location, PL.242) is also reasonable.



Illus. 2: GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255, f. 80r, verse 1 of 'Tu con frade m'ingannasti'

The contents consist primarily of solo arias with continuo from Venetian operas of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, with multiple selections from operas by Antonio Sartorio (?1630-1681) and Giovanni Legrenzi (1626-1690).¹⁵ There are also ten items setting words from Domenico Freschi's *Elena rapita da Paride* (1677), although they do not appear to concord with any known sources of music for this opera.¹⁶ Much of the music that can be confidently attributed exists in only two or three other known sources,¹⁷ with 10 of the 43 items of music being apparent unica.¹⁸ Figures are added occasionally to the bass line, generally indicating 4-3 suspensions.

The front paste-down features some calculations and a sketch of a woman's face in profile (see Illus. 3). The back paste-down leaf (see Illus. 4) is riddled with inscriptions and doodles. Among them are 'Madamme beddingfilds at graveline', 'Madame beddingfelds at gravelign', 'Mad[a]me fettiplates', and 'Poupole', among other less intelligible inscriptions, doodles of faces, and apparent attempts to practise calligraphy. 'Gravelign' likely refers to the English convent of Poor Clares located in the town of Gravelines, roughly 22 kilometres from Dunkirk. This convent regularly hosted gentlewomen and English Catholic families such as the Bedingfield or Fettiplace families for their education and religious edification.¹⁹ There were two nuns named Bedingfield and Fettiplace active at the Poor Clares convent in Gravelines in the late seventeenth century: Ann Bonaventure (née Ann) Bedingfield (1623-1697, professed in 1640) and Mary Teresa (née Dorothy) Fettiplace (1666-1705, professed 1688). A possible match for the name 'Poupole' can also be found at this convent, as there was a lay sister at the convent by the name of Mary (née Tecla) Pople (1682-1744, professed 1705).

¹⁵ For a full inventory, see Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music Power and Place', Appendix B4.

¹⁶ I-Vqs, MSS Cl.VIII.4 (1430) (RISM A/II, 850024465) and Cl.VIII.18 (1440) (RISM A/II, 850025754); I-Vnm, It.IV, 357 (RISM A/II 850004027); I-Vnm, Cod.It. IV, 743 (RISM A/II 850702408); F-Pn, Rés. VmC Ms-77 (RISM A/II 840018124); F-Pn, Rés VmA Ms-967 (RISM A/II 840018170) <@>.

¹⁷ There are 14 arias with concordances known in only one other source; see Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music Power and Place', Appendix B4.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ See references to the convent in the diary of Thomas Marwood between 1699 and 1701 in J.H. Pollen, 'Bedingfield Papers', *Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea VI* (Edinburgh, 1909), 41-157, at 80 <@>. For the education of the daughters of Sir Nicholas Blundell (1669-1737) at the convent, see F. Tyrer, ed. J.J. Bagley, *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, vol. 2: 1712-1719 (Chester, 1970), 289.



Illus. 3: GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255 front paste-down (enhanced)

The repertoire in GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255 would have been useful to English nuns in Flanders, as they were known to sing and play secular music for visiting guests' entertainment. For example, in 1671 the gentleman John Walker noted upon visiting the English Franciscan convent in Bruges:

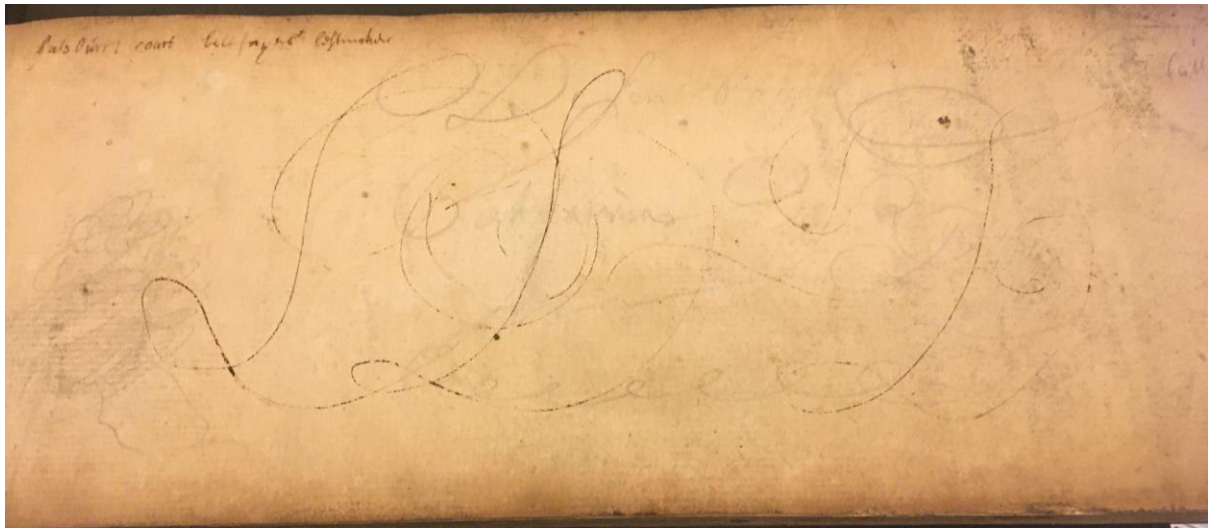
The abbess, being willing more and more to oblige us [she] was pleased to grant us the favour to hear her choir of nuns.... No sooner [was a bell tolled] but we heard the nuns began to convene in a gallery overhead. After this we heard a most harmonious consort of viols and violins with the organ. Then a ravishing voice of a nun singing in Italian a treble part alone, with the rest now and then keeping the chorus. And last of all, one of them played upon the trumpet marine to admiration.²⁰ This favour was the greater because it was performed before the time of vespers.²¹



Illus. 4: GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255, back paste-down

²⁰ There was at least one Franciscan nun, Francis Stephen (née Francis) Garnons (1634-1689, professed 1655), who played the tromba marina; see her obituary in the English Franciscan convent's Necrology: *The English Franciscan Nuns 1619-1821, and the Friars Minor of the Same Province 1618-1761*, ed. R. Trappes-Lomax (London, 1922), 196.

²¹ K. van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720* (Amsterdam, 2014), 504.



Illus. 5: GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255, front flyleaf

In Dunkirk in 1664, the French travel writer Jean-Baptiste de Rocolles mentioned accompanying a ‘Mother Abbess of France’ on business to Dunkirk, with whom he was entertained by the English Benedictine nuns in Dunkirk:

These holy daughters received the Lady Abbess most civilly with the people who were in her company [...] They regaled her with two things: a very fine collation [...] [and] a small concert of music, a marriage of their beautiful voices to viols, one of which was wonderfully played by a lay sister, the daughter of an English musician. I can also say truthfully, never have I heard singing in my life a girl with both the most agreeable and strong, and with the most animated voice than Mother Anastase[.]²² which gave me no less pleasure than surprise and admiration.²³

Similar praise of viol playing and ‘musique’ was noted at the English Poor Clares convent in Gravelines by Michel St Martin in 1661.²⁴ Roman vocal music and English continuo songs used by English nuns in Flanders also feature in other manuscripts from the 1690s and 1700s, such as Douai MS 785.²⁵ Forthcoming research will offer evidence that the secular Italianate music in this manuscript was likely used within – or even produced by – English convents in exile,²⁶ as well as evidence of the use of secular music – particularly French vocal airs – in didactic manuscripts used by English Catholic women who would go on to profess as nuns.²⁷

²² The Dunkirk Annals (now Douai Abbey, BT/V/II no. 2/1-2) indicate this to be Dame Anna (née Anastasia) Maurice, professed in 1659, d. 1700; see *WWiN?* database. They comprise two handwritten volumes, compiled in the 1840s based on a combination of the memory of elder nuns and archival material.

²³ J.B. de Rocolles. *Les Entriens du Luxembourg* (Paris, 1666), 81-3: ‘Ces bonnes Filles receurent fort civilement cette Dame Abbessse avec les personnes qui estoient en sa compagnie [...] elles la regalerent de deux choses: d’une fort belle collation [...] L’autre regale fut d’un petit concert de musique, mariant leurs belles voix a des violes, dont l’une estoit merueilleusement bien touchée par une soeur converse, fille d’un Musicien Anglois. Je puis aussi dire avec verité, n’avoir jamais ouy chanter en ma vie une fille avec une voix plus agreable, et plus forte tout ensemble, et avec une action plus animée, comme la Mere Anastase. Ce qui me causa non moins de plaisir que de surprise et d’admiration’.

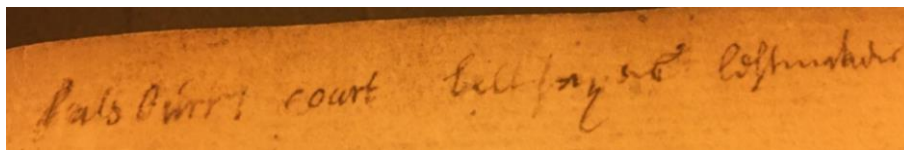
²⁴ M. St-Martin, *Relation d’un voyage fait en Flandres, Brabant, Hainaut, Artois, Cambresis, &c en l’an 1661* (Caen, 1668), 77.

²⁵ P. Leech and M. Whitehead, “‘Clamores omnino atque admirationes excitant’: New Light on Music and Musicians at St Omer’s English Jesuit College, 1658-1714”, *Tijdschrift van de koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 66 (2016), 123-45. Some of the attributions and interpretations in this article are now out of date; see Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music, Power, and Place’, ch. 3.

²⁶ For Douai MS 785, see Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music Power and Place’, ch. 3 and Appendix B6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. 4.

These anecdotes potentially offer some context for the secular music in MS Mus. d.255 and its use at an English convent in exile. However, the front flyleaf of the manuscript suggests that at some point it crossed the Channel. It features the inscription ‘Salsburry court bellsayse lestmaker’; along with a pencil or silverpoint rendering of the name ‘Catherine de Ryck’; some large ink initials; and what appears to be an attempt to sketch the woman’s profile on the front paste-down (Illus. 5). ‘Salsburry court’ may refer to Salisbury Court in London, while ‘lestmaker’ could be a reference to a shoemaker or a related trade (Illus. 6).²⁸ ‘Bellsayse’ could refer to Thomas Bellasyse, second Viscount Fauconberg (1627-1700) or one of his relatives; Helen Jacobsen has identified him as the Venetian-based diplomat, one of several who imported Italian art, music and style into Restoration England.²⁹



Illus. 6: GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255 front flyleaf, enhanced, ‘Salsburry court bellsayse lestmaker’

Catherine de Ryck’s signature also appears on other manuscripts in the Blount collection, including GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.246, a manuscript containing English theatrical music from the mid to late 1690s.³⁰ The back paste-down of Ms. Mus. d.246 features the inscription ‘in pres cut street 26 in goedmans fields’, likely referring to Prescott or Prescot Street near Goodman’s Fields in London. This match, combined with the mention of ‘salsbury court’ in GB-Ob, Ms. Mus. d.255, suggests that Ms. Mus. d.255 made its way to London at some point, perhaps in the hands of Catherine de Ryck herself.

Who Catherine de Ryck was, and how she came into possession of a manuscript full of relatively rare music like MS Mus. d.255, is a many-layered question. There is evidence to suggest that the Catherina de Ryck who signed MSS Mus. d.246 and 255 may have been the same as a ‘Katherine’ de Ryck born to the goldsmith, engraver, and oil painter Willem de Ryck (?1638/48-1699) around 1675.³¹ Willem de Ryck began his career as a goldsmith in Antwerp. The English art critic Marshall Smith described de Ryck in 1693 as an oil painter who studied under Jan Erasmus Quellinus (1634-1715), acquired the patronage of the king of Spain, and travelled across the Spanish Netherlands and eventually even to Rome to paint depictions of saints and portraits of the Catholic aristocracy.³² Willem de Ryck moved to London either by 1682 or 1688,³³ where Smith noted he painted a picture of Mary Magdalen for Anne Finch (née Kingsmill), Duchess of Winchelsea.³⁴ He

²⁸ A ‘lastmaker’ possibly refers to a shoemaker or one who makes materials for shoemakers, a ‘last’ being a wooden model of a foot used by shoemakers; see *OED*, ‘Last’, 2a.

²⁹ H. Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 2011), 75–81.

³⁰ See Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music, Power, and Place’, Appendix B4.

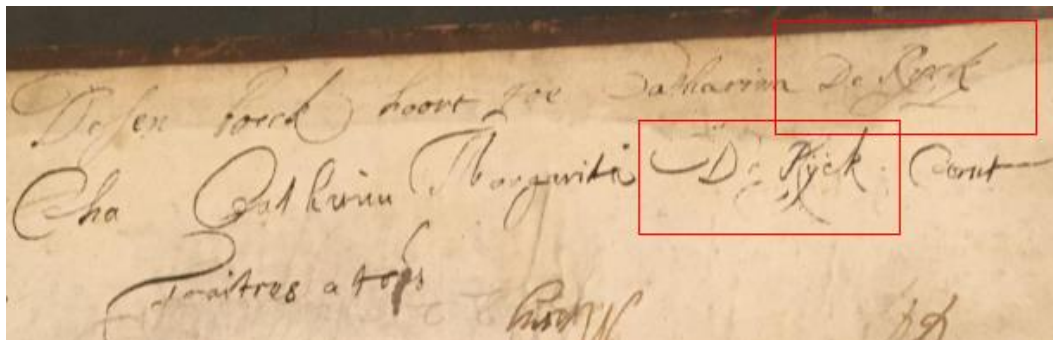
³¹ S. Cooper Morgan, ‘William de Ryck’, *ODNB*.

³² M. Smith, *The Art of Painting according to the Theory and Practise of the best Italian, French, and German Masters* (London, 1693), 5 <@>.

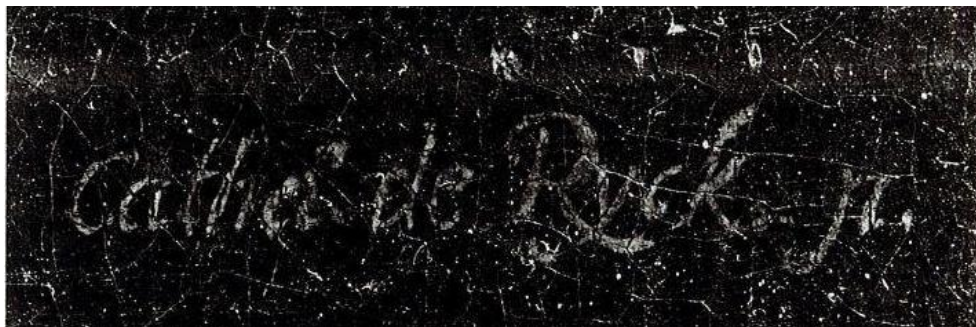
³³ S. Karst, “‘Off to a new Cockaigne’: Dutch Migrant Artists in London, 1660–1715”, *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 37 (2013), 25–60, at 32. Karst places de Ryck as active in London between 1682 and 1699 but does not provide evidence for the earlier date.

³⁴ Smith, *The Art of Painting*, 5 notes de Ryck painted in London for ‘divers Persons of Qualities, and Eminent Merchant’s in the City’.

is recorded as living from 1689-91 in St James's, Westminster,³⁵ and in Covent Garden (on the north side of King Street) from 1691 to 1692.³⁶ It seems likely that Willem de Ryck's daughter joined him in London at some point, as in moving his discussion of Willem de Ryck's work on the continent to his work in England, Marshall Smith noted that 'his most Ingenious Daughter Mrs Katherine comes behind none of her Fair Sex in [painting]'.³⁷ A Willem de Ryck based in Holborn also listed a Catherine de Ryck as a witness to his will in 1699.³⁸ Catherine de Ryck's signature in Ms. Mus. d.246 (Illus. 7) is remarkably similar to that on a portrait of Mrs. Samuel Lovell in the National Gallery of Ireland, painted by a 'Cath. de Ryck' around 1700 (Illus. 8).³⁹ Thus, the Catherine de Ryck who used MSS Mus. d.246 and d.255 and was in London in the 1690s/1700s, seems likely to be the same as Catherine de Ryck, daughter of the artist Willem de Ryck.



Illus.7: GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.246 front paste-down



Illus. 8: National Gallery of Ireland, NGI.1347, Portrait of Mrs. Samuel Lovell, enhanced signature, 'Cath. de Ryck'.

Crum identified Catherine de Ryck as the owner of another Blount Manuscript, GB-Ob, MS Mus. e.46,⁴⁰ which was also signed by a 'Catherine Humble'. This could point to connections between Catherine de Ryck and another oil painter active in London in the early 1700s named Mrs. Humble,

³⁵ *Survey of London: Volumes 29 and 30, St James Westminster, Part 1*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard, (London, 1960), 546-9, *British History Online* <@>.

³⁶ *Survey of London: Volume 36, Covent Garden*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London, 1970), 96-7, *British History Online* <@>.

³⁷ Smith, *The Art of Painting*, 5: 'But why need I goe so far from home since we have divers Peices in England which proclaime [Willem de Ryck's] Skill [...] And his most Ingenious Daughter Mrs Katherine'.

³⁸ National Archives, PROB 11/449/461.

³⁹ Particularly significant are the interlocking descenders of the upper-case 'R' and lower-case 'y'.

⁴⁰ This is presumably due to the similarities with de Ryck's signature in GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.246 and the appearance of a 'D' in the practice paraphs evident below the inscription of 'Chath' on the back flyleaf.

daughter to the oil painter William de Kaiser (d. 1691/2).⁴¹ Horace Walpole's account of William de Kaiser's career suggests it followed a remarkably similar pattern to Willem de Ryck's. Both began as jewellers in Antwerp; both shifted to oil painting as a result of painting altarpieces in Antwerp; both were patronised primarily by Catholic aristocracy; both ended up in London in the mid-to-late 1680s; and both taught their daughters to paint in oils.⁴² It is also possible that both artists had connections to English convents. It was 'English nuns' in Dunkirk who reportedly recommended Willem De Kaiser to Lord Melfort at the court of James II.⁴³ Willem de Ryck reportedly painted pictures of St. Michael and St. Benedict, most likely prior to his settlement in London around 1688. The only institution dedicated to St. Benedict in Dunkirk was the English Benedictine convent, which reportedly had paintings of both St. Benedict and St. Michael by an artist named 'Ryckz' among their most prized pictures in the Church.⁴⁴

While links between Willem de Ryck and the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk are speculative, they could explain how Catherine de Ryck acquired MS Mus. d.255, a manuscript of relatively rare music of a genre often used in the late seventeenth-century by elite English Catholic women. Over the past two decades, English convent historians have shown that virtually all English convents in exile had schools, some of which were large, prestigious and influential.⁴⁵ There is evidence to suggest that English convents in exile were also known to have integrated the daughters of local artists and/or musicians into their schools.⁴⁶ The English Poor Clares convent at Gravelines – where MS Mus. d.255 may have been used or owned – was only 20 kilometres from Dunkirk, and primarily acquired students through familial connections. The Gravelines convent school could have been a suitable place for Willem de Ryck to place his daughter while working in Dunkirk; equally, the Dunkirk Poor Clares and Benedictine convent schools could also have been suitable institutions. Dunkirk is also a location where music books used by Catherina de Ryck could have been encountered by a member of the Blount family. As shall now be discussed, the Catholic gentlewomen Theresa and Martha Blount likely attended school in part at the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk, judging by inscriptions on the music book they shared while based at exiled English convent schools in France in the 1690s and early 1700s.

⁴¹ H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 3 vols. (London, 1763), iii. 100-2. Walpole notes that de Kaiser's daughter married 'one Mr. Humble a gentleman, he would not permit her to follow the profession. After his death she returned to it, and died in December 1724'.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. There is a more extended discussion of the connections between William de Kaiser, Willem de Ryck, their daughters and English convents in Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place' ch. 3.

⁴⁴ Douai Abbey, BT/VI/I, no.4a, 'Inventory of Dunkirk Church[,] List of Jewels sold & Church plate sold', no. 5 on the list. See also the Dunkirk *Annals* no. 2, p. 285: 'In the church also was a large and beautiful picture of our Lady[...] 3 others on the walls around, viz. Our Holy Father St Benedict, St Augustine & a St Michael by Ryckz'.

⁴⁵ A.F. Allison, 'The English Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Syon at Paris: Its Foundation and Struggle for Survival During the First Eighty Years, 1634-1713', *British Catholic History* 21 (1992), 451-96, at 484-6; C. Bowden, "'For the Glory of God": A Study of the Education of English Catholic Women in Convents in Flanders and France in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Paedagogica Historica* 35 (1999), 77-95; Bowden, 'Patronage and Practice: Assessing the Significance of the English Convents as Cultural Centres in Flanders in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the History of Education Society* 34 (2005), 365-86; Bowden, 'Convent Schooling for English Girls in the "Exile" Period, 1600-1800', *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019), 177-204; C. Walker, 'Exiled Children: Care in English Convents in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Children Australia* 42 (2016), 168-77.

⁴⁶ See Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', ch. 4, for a discussion of the education of the daughters of Claude Lefebvre (1632-75), court painter to Louis XIV and Charles II, at the English Augustinian convent in Paris, as well as Lefebvre's relationship to the convent through his mentor, Charles Lebrun (1619-90).

This decoding of names, locales and institutions points to the ownership and use of MS Mus. d. 255 within a network of girls and women associated with English convents in exile. These networks spread across the Channel and involved women like Catherine de Ryck, likely the daughter of an artist proximate to English convents and English Catholic aristocracy. As such, it is possible to place MS Mus. d. 255 as a witness to cross-institutional and cross-geographic exchange via English convent networks.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.247, the Blount Manuscript⁴⁷

The Blount Manuscript is referred to as such because, among many inscriptions on the front and back paste-down leaves of the manuscript, most prominently featured are several complete and partially complete signatures of 'Theresa Blount', with many iterations for practice (Illus. 9). Also featured is the name 'Paty Blount' (as well as a large 'P'), and the phrase 'a Mappedurham' (Illus.10). These probably refer to the English Catholic gentlewomen Theresa (c.1689-1759) and Martha Blount, also known as 'Patty' (c.1690-1763), of Mapledurham.⁴⁸

The Blount sisters spent most of their upbringing in France. Valerie Rumbold has noted Theresa was born in Paris,⁴⁹ and was at the English Augustinian convent at Paris from as early as 1693, as indicated by a letter from the nun Elizabeth Meynell (the schoolmistress of the English Augustinian convent in Paris) to Theresa's mother.⁵⁰ The next mention of the Blount sisters' whereabouts is on 23 September 1699, when, according to the *Diurnal* (official diary) of the English Augustinian convent in Paris, 'Mrs Blount of Mapple-durham w<i>th her two children, Mrs Theresa, & Mrs Martha, & a mayde came to ye Monastery out of England'.⁵¹ The *Diurnal* notes that the Blount sisters stayed at the convent until 14 February 1702, when Theresa and her sister Martha went to the French Ursuline convent in Faubourg-St-Jacques until 12 May 'for improving themselves in ye french Language'.⁵² The Blount sisters are next mentioned as leaving the English Augustinian convent on 19 June 1702 'in order to goe to England'.⁵³ Martha is next noted as a student at the Hammersmith convent in London in 1703,⁵⁴ while Theresa's whereabouts become unclear.

The flyleaves of the book feature many doodles and childlike hands, including the year '1700' (Illus. 9, 10). This inscription, combined with the structure of the book and the dates of much of its musical material, seems to suggest the manuscript was first used by the Blount sisters during their education at the English Augustinian convent in Paris. One hand has also inscribed on the back

⁴⁷ With thanks to Andrew Woolley for drawing my attention to this manuscript, and for providing me with photographs of it during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the Bodleian Library was closed.

⁴⁸ V. Rumbold, *Women's Place in Pope's World* (Cambridge, 1989), 2.

⁴⁹ Rumbold, *Women's Place*, 110-111.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Rumbold cites Blount letters, III, 138, now held at the British Library. The letters she discusses were all written by nuns at the English Augustinian convent in Paris. Elizabeth Ann (née Elizabeth) Meynell (1660-1738) was professed at the convent on 9 November 1679. See *WWIN?*, sourced from Westminster Diocesan Archives, Kensington, AC/XIII, 'Register of Professions', f. 3r.

⁵¹ Westminster Diocesan Archives, without shelfmark, 'Diurnal of the English Canonesses Regular of St Augustine's Order established in Paris upon ye fossé of Saint Victor [1695-1738]' (henceforth the *Diurnal*), f. 23v.

⁵² *Diurnal*, f. 38r (14 February 1702); f. 39v (12 May 1702).

⁵³ *Diurnal*, f. 40v (19 June 1702).

⁵⁴ Douai Abbey, T/V/3 no. 12, 'Scans of a manuscript listing Superiors and pensioners at the Hammersmith convent at various dates', f. 7r.

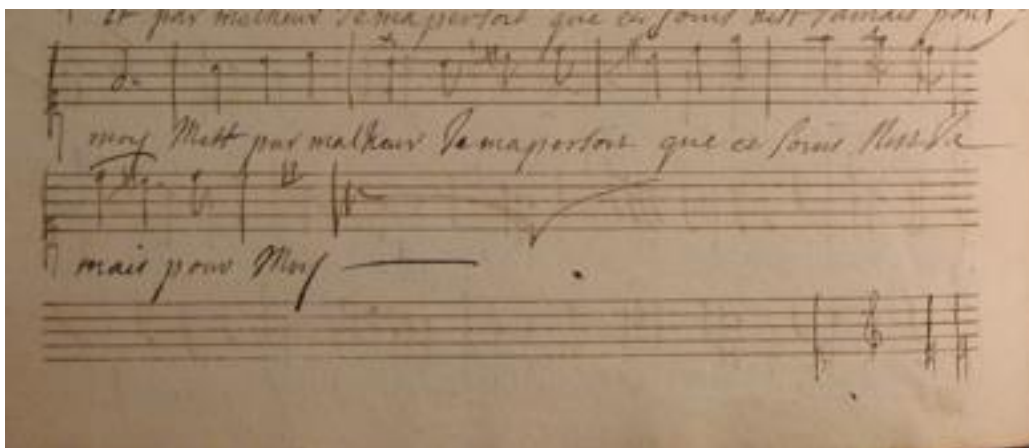
paste-down the command ‘Souvenez vous de vos amies De paris es toutes vos amies A paris et a dunkerke’ (‘Remember your friends from Paris and all your friends from Paris and from Dunkirk’), which suggests the Blount sisters at some point visited, or were based at, the English Benedictine convent school in Dunkirk.⁵⁵ For instance, if they returned to England from France between 1693 and 1699 they might have spent part of this period in Dunkirk, either on the way to England or on the way from England to Paris, as other students at the English Augustinian convent in Paris are known to have done.⁵⁶ Equally, it is possible that both sisters shared the manuscript and that one took it with her when spending time in Dunkirk, while the other stayed in Paris.



Illus. 9: The Blount Manuscript, front paste-down

⁵⁵ Bowden, ‘Convent Schooling’, 177-204. Pierre Faulconnier, the bailiff of Dunkirk in the 1680s and 90s, wrote: ‘Ces religieuses sont ordinairement 40 or 50; elles ont un Chapelain, tiennent chez elles des Pensionnaires, qui sont des Filles de qualité d’Angleterre’; see P. Faulconnier, *Description historique de Dunkerque, ville maritime et port de mer*, 2 vols. (Bruges: Pierre Vande Chapelle, 1730), ii. 44 <@>. See also Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music, Power, and Place’, ch. 4.

⁵⁶ For example, both Anne Roper and Mary Casy were noted as returning to England via Dunkirk in 1705: *Diurnal*, f. 56v (19 May 1705).



Illus. 11: The Blount Manuscript, f. 3v

The initial eight folios of the manuscript containing French airs mostly date from the 1690s and 1700s, when the sisters were primarily based at the English Augustinian convent school in Paris. Vocal airs were an essential element of sociability in the salon culture of late seventeenth-century Paris, with publications in the *Mercure galant* and by Christopher Ballard in the 1670s and 80s increasing their popularity.⁶⁰ Two airs in the Blount Manuscript, ‘Beaux yeux de Climene’ (ff. 2r-2v) and ‘Vos beaux yeux’ (f. 5r), feature ‘doubles’ with written-out ornamentation, a characteristic French practice of the mid-to-late seventeenth century. Some printed anthologies from the late 1680s, 1690s and 1700s provided ‘double’ versions, as in Ballard’s 1703 book of *Brunetes*,⁶¹ which features a different setting of the text ‘Beaux yeux de Climene’ with a written-out ‘double’. However, Catherine Gordon-Seifert has suggested that the practice of notating ornamented second verses of airs in published anthologies decreased towards the end of the seventeenth century,⁶² noting guidance from Bertrand de Bacilly in his 1668 treatise that advised learners not only to study published airs, but also to seek guidance from singers skilled in ornamentation.⁶³ The ‘double’ vocal airs in the Blount Manuscript seem to document a pupil consulting a teacher for guidance in ornamentation; for example, the unornamented version of ‘Vos Beaux Yeux’ is concordant with Ballard’s *Airs [...] avec la basse-continue* (1689),⁶⁴ but the anthology does not contain a ‘double’ and no concordance can be found for the one copied in the Blount Manuscript. This suggests the Blount sisters acquired these doubles via a French singer skilled in the art of ornamentation and is consistent with evidence discussed later in this chapter of exiled English convents seeking French singing teachers for their pupils.

From f. 9r onwards the vocal music in the Blount Manuscript becomes more Anglicised: Scribe E copied the first two lines of the song ‘Iris beware when Strephon pursues you’, printed in Henry Playford’s *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1707),⁶⁵ with the words copied in full without the music on f. 35r. Both sets of text are spaced above empty staves where the musical notation

⁶⁰ C. Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs* (Bloomington IN, 2011), 268-9.

⁶¹ *Brunetes* (Paris: Ballard, 1703) tome 1, 90, attr. Michel Lambert.

⁶² Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 279.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 200-1.

⁶⁴ *Airs à une, II. III. et IV. parties avec la basse-continue par Monsieur Lambert* (Paris: Ballard, 1689), 65-7.

⁶⁵ *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy* vol.3 (London: John Young, 1707), 282.

could be added, perhaps as an exercise for the Blount sisters to practise notating vocal lines using the text as spacing guidelines (Illus. 12). On ff. 9v-10r, Scribe F copied 'Cease Gentle Swain' and entitled it 'A Song in Magbeth set by Mr D. Purcell' (Illus. 13). It was published in the *Monthly Mask of Vocal Music* (February 1704), drawn from Daniel Purcell's music for the production of *Macbeth* at the Drury Lane Theatre that year.⁶⁶ The next folios feature later vocal music inscribed by a later hand (Hand G), including a song by Simon Stubley (d. 1754) published in 1741 (Illus. 14).⁶⁷ This suggests the Blount Manuscript was used and updated continuously over many years, a pattern seen in other music books belonging to early modern English gentlewomen.⁶⁸



Illus. 12: The Blount Manuscript, f. 9r

⁶⁶ *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music, 1702-1711: A Facsimile Edition*, introduction by O. Baldwin and T. Wilson (Aldershot, 2007), no. 57; see also K. Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Farnham, 2009), 51.

⁶⁷ See Lesemann-Elliott 'Music, Power, and Place', Appendix B2.

⁶⁸ See, for example, US-NH, Misc. MS 170, Filmer 27, a music book inscribed 'Elizabeth Beversham her Booke / July the 11the 1679', RISM A/II, 900001449. I am grateful to Alex Norman for drawing my attention to this manuscript; forthcoming work by him on this manuscript will demonstrate this phenomenon. See also R. Shay, 'Bass Parts to an Unknown Purcell Suite at Yale', *Notes* 57 (2001), 819-33, at 821-2.



Illus. 13: The Blount Manuscript, f. 9v

Illus. 14: The Blount Manuscript, f. 10v

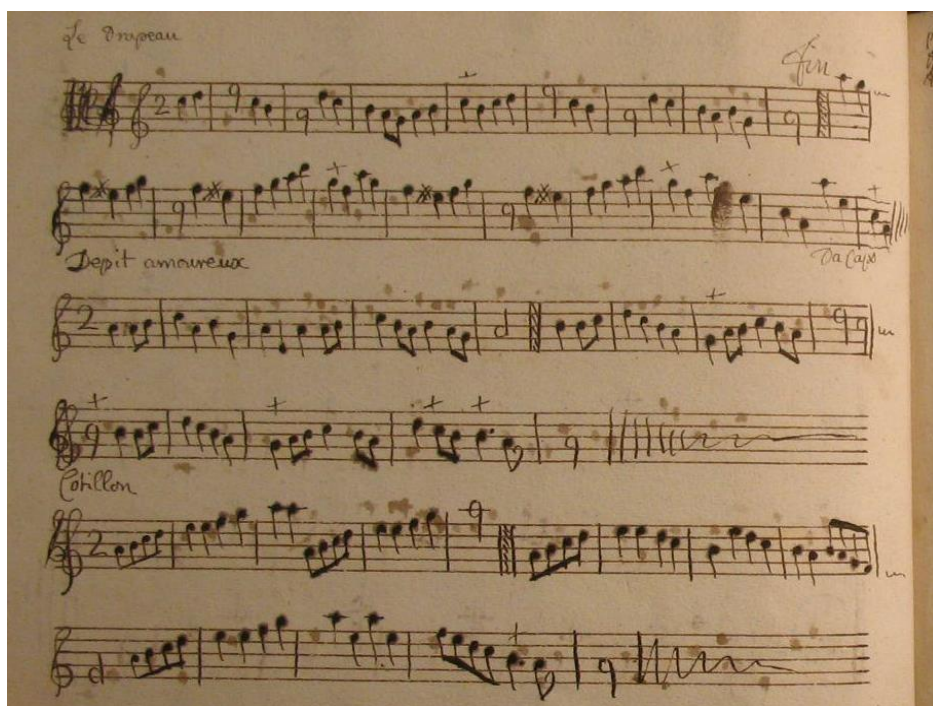
Scribe G – or someone attempting to copy Scribe G – also seems to have been responsible for three items of dance music for keyboard inscribed in reverse from the back of the manuscript (ff. 78v-74v), along with Scribe H. Hands G and H are similar to the English copyists of keyboard music in the 1710s and 20s, particularly the shape of their clefs, quavers, time signatures and text underlay; however, some elements, such as the shape of the braces and the indications of trills, are closer to the work of contemporary French scribes.⁶⁹ The dance music section begins with two items by Jeremiah Clarke (c.1674-1707), both of which appear in *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700),⁷⁰ and one by Raphael Courteville (1675-1735).⁷¹

Scribe G then copied three single treble lines of dance music, 'Le Drapeau', 'Depit Amoureux' and 'Cotillon' (Illus. 15), items popular in early eighteenth-century ballet and *comédie*. On ff. 74r-69v Scribe H wrote a series of Italian-titled dances popular in the first half of the eighteenth-century *théâtre de la foire* (Illus. 16), with Scribe G on f. 71r, returning momentarily for an incomplete setting of an untraced 'Ballet de quatre'. On f. 76v, the item 'Marcia per un'Incoronazione' features marginalia in Hand G reading 'Pas deux for ~~pasquin & lisette~~ Angelique & Valere Intermezzo 3', with Hand H having inscribed 'att the End of ye: 2d: act'. Two folios later, at the end of the item entitled 'Marcia per il Drago' on f. 74r, an inscription by Scribe H reads 'the last dance, danced first by Ge: & then ye other 4 &c'. A few folios later, on f. 72v, the item 'Ballo del Villani' features marginalia by Scribe H, first noting 'Pierot et Pierotte at ye: End of first act', then at the end noting 'to be play'd over twice wt: reprises'. The item after this on f. 71v entitled 'Ballo a Solo Da Villano Del Sgr. D. Michele' was copied by Hand H, while Hand G added marginalia reading 'Le paisan apres l'entrée seule- to be play'd over till I've done dancing'. On another, more complete iteration of the same music, copied again by Hand H on ff. 70r-69v, Hand H also inscribed this instruction as marginalia, using the same wording as on f. 71v.

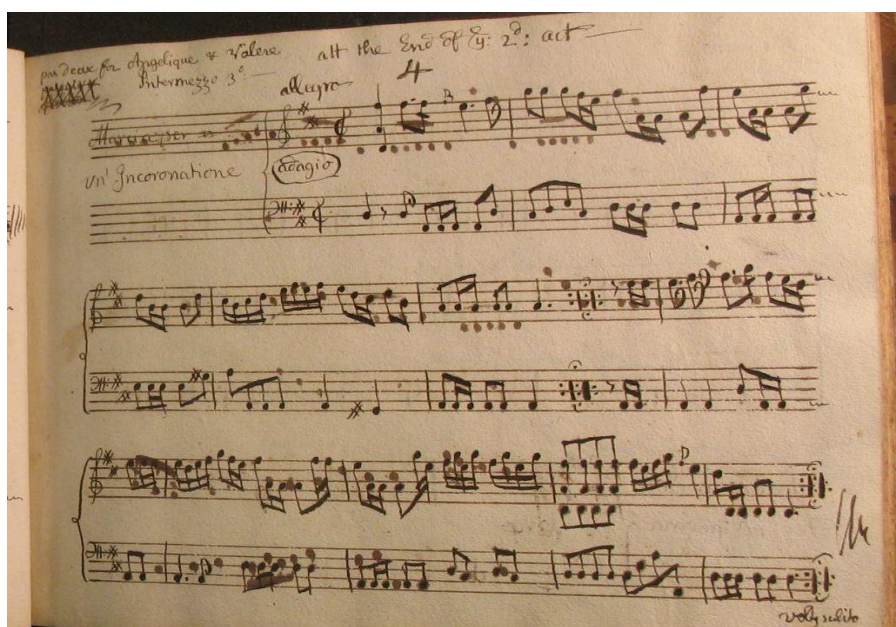
⁶⁹ Compare, for example, the Houssu Manuscript, dated by Catherine Massip to between 1712 and 1717; see C. Massip, 'Les Pièces de clavecin de François Couperin dans les recueils collectifs', *François Couperin: Nouveaux regards, Actes des Recontres de Villecroze, 4 au 7 octobre 1995*, ed. O. Mehmed (Paris, 1998), 81-103.

⁷⁰ *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinett* (London: John Young, 1700), 12-13: 'The Emperour of Germanys March by Mr Clarke', and 'The Prince of Denmark's March by Mr Clarke'.

⁷¹ 'Aire by Mr Courteville', The Blount Manuscript, f. 77v.



Illus. 15: The Blount Manuscript, f. 76r



Illus. 16: The Blount Manuscript, f. 76v

The names in the margin, ‘Pierrot et Pierrotte’, ‘Angelique et Valere’, and ‘Pasquin & lisette’, evoke the world of the *théâtre de la foire*, performances of *comédies en vaudevilles* featuring music, dance, and acrobatics at the annual fairs at Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Laurent in Paris. For instance, the stock comic figure of Pierrot appears in virtually all comedies from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries performed and published in Paris (his utility as a mime being particularly

helpful when the *Comédie-Italienne* was banned),⁷² while Angelique and Valère are a stock couple who appear in, among other productions, Dancourt and Regnard's *Le joueur* (Paris, 1699) and *La Serenade* (Paris, 1708), or Charles de Fresny's *L'esprit de contradiction* (Paris, 1700). Scribes G and H copied apparently unique dance music with titles in Italian and instructions in combined French and English, suggesting they conceived of it in multi-genre, multilingual terms. These items could have been copied in the late 1690s or early 1700s, when the *théâtre de la foire* began to integrate motifs from the *Comédie-Italienne* after its abolition in 1697. Equally, if copied in England, the items could have been added in the early decades of the eighteenth century as a memory of French practices. Scribes G and H were clearly writing instructions for a player who not only understood French and English (as implied by the inscription 'Le paysan apres L'entrée seule – to be play'd over till I've done dancing' on f. 71v), but knew where specific dances occurred in performances, and how this affected when certain pieces should be played (as implied by the inscription 'pierrot et pierrotte att ye End of ye first act' on f. 72v). The scribes expected the user of the manuscript to be familiar with French ballet formulae – in particular, those of the *théâtre de la foire* – and to be able to respond in a performance to features such as the end of a dance or the characters involved.

The English Augustinian convent in Paris was heavily involved in the education of their pupils.⁷³ Given the manuscript was likely copied during the Blount sisters' time at exiled English convent schools in Paris and Dunkirk, the music in the Blount Manuscript suggest that the convent schools were directly involved in facilitating the transfer of French music practices and repertory to England via their pupils. For the Blount sisters, learning French vocal airs would have enabled them to showcase their education in French etiquette and culture as learned in Paris with French teachers, 'doubles' ornamentation being primarily a skill taught in-person by French singers by the end of the seventeenth century. While much research has explored how the *théâtre de la foire* was incorporated into early English ballad opera,⁷⁴ the Blount Manuscript offers further insight into how this genre may have been used in English domestic spaces in the early eighteenth century.⁷⁵ Both the French vocal air and keyboard arrangements of *théâtre de la foire* music in the manuscript were ideal for private use, particularly for curating a salon-like environment. The manuscript's inscriptions testify to the English convent networks that gave the Blount sisters skills in music, dance and languages before bringing it home to Mapledurham. This suggests that exiled English convent schools helped infuse late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English socio-musical customs with French signifiers of elegance and sociability.

GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.248, the Tichborne Manuscript

The Tichborne Manuscript is virtually identical in size and structure to the Blount Manuscript.⁷⁶ It has clearer evidence of didactic usage, shown by the handwriting, clefs and note shapes on ff. 9r,

⁷² D. Charlton, *Popular Opera in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 2021), 46-76.

⁷³ Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', ch. 4.

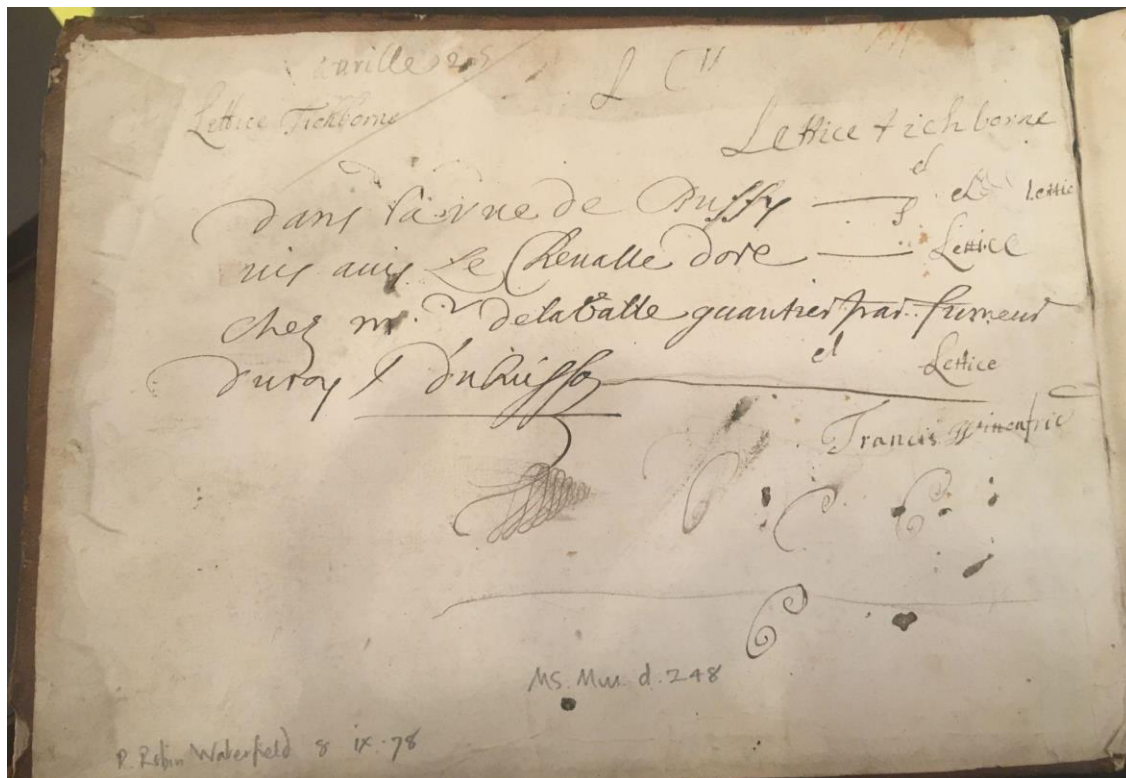
⁷⁴ D. Hertz, 'The Beggar's Opera and *opéra-comique en vaudivilles*', *Early Music* 27 (1999), 42-53; M. Goff, 'John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes'; J. Thorp, 'Pierrot Strikes Back: Francois Nivelon at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden, 1723-1738', *The Stage's Glory: John Rich (1692-1761)*, ed. J. Barlow and B. Joncus (Newark DE, 2011), 85-99 and 138-49 respectively.

V.L. Rogers, 'John Gay, Ballad Opera, and the *Théâtre de la Foire*', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11 (2014), 173-213.

⁷⁵ See discussion of *théâtre de la foire* music in domestic/private space in D. Charlton, *Popular Opera in Eighteenth-Century France*, 77-99, at 88-9.

⁷⁶ Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', ch. 3.

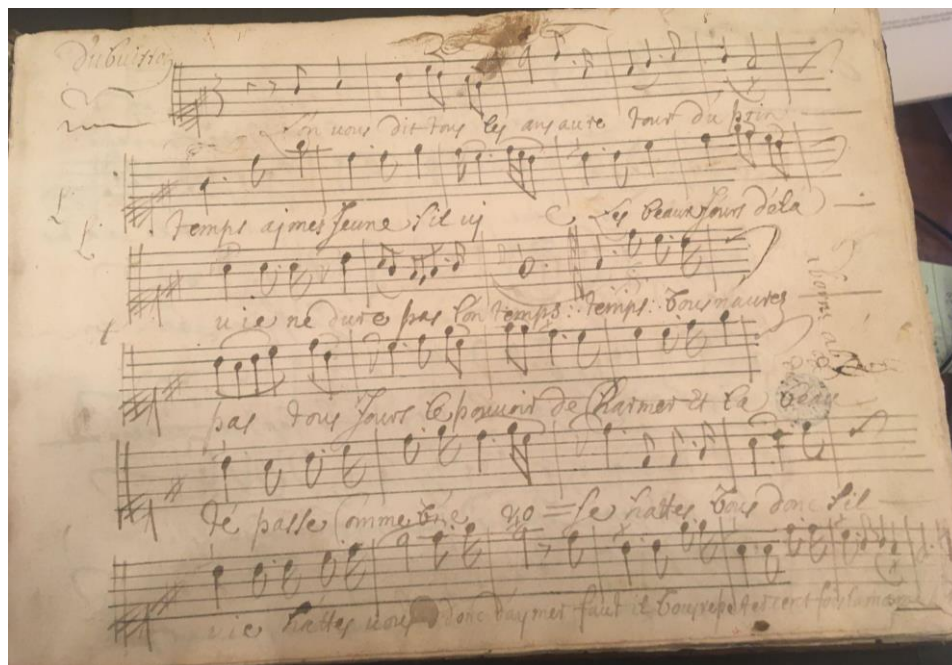
24r, 41r, 44v, 52v and the back paste-down. This manuscript features variations of the name Lettice Tichborne inscribed multiple times on the front paste-down, followed by the name 'Frances Winefride', the inscription 'aurille 25' (25 April) and what appears to be an attempt to practise paraph drawing (see Illus. 17). The paste-down is also inscribed 'dans la rue de Bussy Vis a vis Le Chevalle d'or Chez Monsieur de la Valle Guautier parfumeur du roy / dubuisson' in the same scribal hand as the one that wrote the first nine folios of music. The back paste-down features inscriptions of numbers 1-12 in order, 'Mrs Tichborne', 'FWF is a good gurl' and 'astin hill is' (see Illus. 18). Underneath in reverse is a demonstration of the hexachords.



Illus.17: The Tichborne Manuscript, front paste-down

for Frances was owed to the convent. There is another entry in 1688 in which a ‘Frances Titchborn’ ‘entred ... also a border & payd 400 the years’.⁸⁴

The front paste-down bears the following inscription: ‘dans la rue de Bussy Vis a vis Le Chevalle d’or Chez Monsieur de la Valle Guautier parfumeur du roy / dubuisson’ (On the Rue de Bussy opposite the Golden Horse, home of Mr. de la Valle, Gautier *parfumeur* to the King / du Buisson). The inscription of the location ‘Rue de Bussy’ on the front paste-down is in the same hand (Hand A) that copied the first nine folios of music in the manuscript (see Illus. 19). This hand not only wrote the name ‘du buisson’ here but signed ‘du Buisson’ on several items of vocal music in the Tichborne Manuscript, including some items that also appear as attributed to a ‘du Buisson’ in the *Mercurie galant* and some late seventeenth-century Ballard publications of *airs sérieux et à boire*.⁸⁵ Titon du Tillet described (perhaps facetiously) a ‘fameux buveur’ (a tippler) who provided *leçons de musique et de table* to foreigners visiting Paris.⁸⁶ It is worth considering whether foreigners such as the Tichborne girls studied such *leçons* with this du Buisson.



Illus. 19: The Tichborne Manuscript, f. 1r

The location on the front paste-down, ‘Rue de Bussy opposite the Golden Horse’, likely refers to a location in central Paris. The Rue de Buci runs directly across from the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés. A *jeu de paume* (a real tennis court) by the name of Cheval d’Or existed on the Rue de Buci behind the abbey between 1630 and 1666.⁸⁷ Saint-Germain-des-Prés had become a

⁸⁴ AVOCP 68H3, f. 9r

⁸⁵ ‘L’On vous dittons’ appears as attributed to Du Buisson in *Le Mercurie galant* (Avril 1678), 93-5. ‘L’infidellites de Climene’ appears, but set to different music, attributed to Du Buisson in *Livre d’airs de différents auteurs* (Paris: Ballard, 1680), 14.

⁸⁶ É. Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse François* (Paris, 1732), 392 <@>.

⁸⁷ Archives Nationale de France, MC/ET/VI/407, ‘Minutes et répertoires du notaire Jacques BOURIN [notarie] 23 mars 1660-11 juillet 1666 (étude VI)’, ‘Minutes de Jacques BOURIN. Minutes concernant l’abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (terrier), 1658-1666’, entry for 18 March 1666; MC/ET/VIII/634, ‘Minutes et répertoires du notaire Fiacre

hotspot for intelligentsia and artists during the seventeenth century,⁸⁸ with the Comédie-Française moving to the Salle de la rue des Fossés-Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1689. The designer of the Salle, François d'Orbay, demolished the previous buildings which had previously contained the Cheval d'Or *jeu de paume*.⁸⁹ This suggests the Tichborne Manuscript was used prior to 1689 at or near the corner of Rue de Buci near the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

This central Paris address could be explained by the sisters moving there some stage during their education. Given that Frances Tichborne is recorded as re-entering the English Benedictine convent at Pontoise in 1688, it is possible that she, either alone or with her sister Lettice, temporarily moved to Paris at some point between 1682 and 1688 and then returned to the Pontoise convent. English convents in exile were known to send pupils to stay temporarily at the English Augustinian convent in Paris, either with or near their music teachers. For example, on 28 November 1697 its *Diurnal* notes sending their pupils Anne and Frances Roper 'from ye Monastery to live in ye Towne at Monsr du Parque a singing-Master his house'.⁹⁰ On 31 January 1704 Katherine Roper was noted as going to 'the Ursulines of St-Germain-en-Laye [...] to Learne of Monsr Feydy to play ye Grounds of Musicke upon the harpsicalls'.⁹¹ The 'Monsr Feydy' refers to Innocenze Fede, a court music master at St-Germain. It is possible that the English Benedictine convent at Pontoise had a similar custom, sending their pupils to convent schools located in central Paris to gain access to more prestigious music teachers. There is precedent for the Pontoise convent exchanging pupils with the English Augustinian convent in Paris, noted in the latter's *Diurnal*.⁹² However, the *Diurnal* only starts in 1695, so we know little about activities in the 1680s.

It is possible that the Tichborne Manuscript was partially used by the Tichborne sisters while staying with their singing teacher du Buisson. However, its make-up, with fragments of printed pages in red and black from a liturgical book in the binding, suggests it was compiled partly at a religious institution. Plenty of early modern secular books feature religious material of this sort in their bindings, but the Tichborne Manuscript's contents also have monastic associations. On ff. 14r-15v (Illus. 20), there is a vocal part for an *alternatim* Magnificat (alternating plainsong with organ or other instruments, a practice commonly used in seventeenth-century monastic houses), followed by a setting in an almost identical style of the Eucharistic motet 'O salutaris hostia' (see Illus. 21, 22). The motet features a single vocal part along with indications of instrumental accompaniment between sung portions, implied by the word 'simphonie' underneath the notated

JUTET, 20 janvier 1622-27 octobre 1632 (étude VIII)', in 'Minutes. 1631, juin-1631, décembre' entry for 8 July 1631; Châtelet de Paris. Y//173-Y//177, Insinuations (12 avril 1633-17 août 1637), in f. 452, entry for 30 August, 1635; MC/ET/VIII/652 'Minutes. 1640, janvier-juin', entry for 7 February 1640.

⁸⁸ Pasqua Rosée, for example, opened Paris's first café in 1672, in Saint-Germain-des-Prés. See also A. Howe, 'English Actors in Paris during the Civil Wars: Samuel Speede and the Prince of Wales's Company', *The Seventeenth Century* 14 (1999), 130-42.

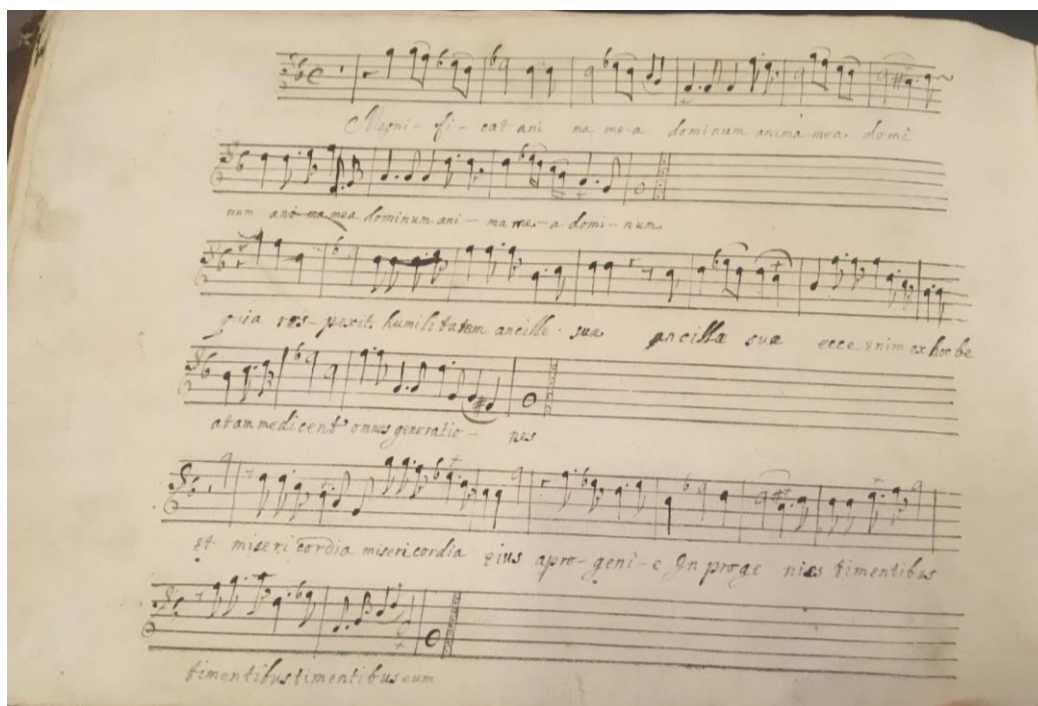
⁸⁹ N. Guibert, 'Les Fossés-St-Germain, histoire', *Paris et ses théâtres: architecture et décor*, ed. B. de Andia (Paris, 1998), 53, 58.

⁹⁰ *Diurnal*, f. 15r. This is most likely the same person as a 'Monsr du Parre' featured in the celebrations of the jubilee of Abbess Anne Tyldesley on 18 July 1708; *Diurnal*, f. 72v: 'A motet, w<hi>ch had bin composed by Monsr du Parre, a musick master, purposely composed for this solemnity was sung'. It is possible that du Parre/du Parcque was a member of the Dieupart family of musicians (primarily instrumentalists) who were active in Paris and London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

⁹¹ *Diurnal*, f. 49r.

⁹² The English Augustinian convent in Paris is also known to exchange students with the English Benedictine convent at Pontoise; see, for example, *Diurnal*, ff. 27r-27v, 37v, 44v, 116r.

music, see Illus. 22. Both are set in figural music. The presence of *alternatim* liturgical music in a manuscript used by two English Catholic girls, educated for multiple years at an English convent in exile, suggests it has connections with a female monastic institution. This will be discussed more



Illus. 20: The Tichborne Manuscript, f. 13v

Illus. 21: The Tichborne Manuscript, f. 14r

collection, possibly carried in the 1690s from the court of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in Paris to Stockholm by the singer and Jacobite musical agent John Abell (1653–after 1716).⁹⁵ Hand B also appears to be French-trained, as can be seen from its clefs, ornamentation and musical terminology, such as ‘fin’ at the end of a piece. Hand C appears to be similar to that of the French-trained scribe A of the Blount Manuscript, who was copying in the late 1690s for Theresa and Martha Blount during their time studying at the English Augustinian convent in Paris.

The final hand to feature in the vocal music section of the manuscript, Hand D, interrupted Hand C on ff. 13v–14v to copy the aforementioned voice part for the Magnificat and ‘O salutaris hostia’, both apparently unica (Illus. 26, 27). While the text underlay copied by hand D has some English characteristics,⁹⁶ the style of musical notation is more difficult to place. The spacing of the text underlay suggests the music was copied first and the text added later. Additional space left after each verse of the Magnificat could suggest that the scribe was intentionally copying music for a text that required an *alternatim* setting, ensuring that room was left for the copying of instrumental music or chant for every other verse. This could mean that the music and text scribes were either working closely together or were the same person.⁹⁷ This in turn might suggest that the scribe copying the music was trained in England. However, the music copied by Scribe D is closer to French writing for *haut-dessus* (high soprano), complete with French-style ornamentation such as a cross indicating trills or slurred descending stepwise quavers suggesting written-out appoggiaturas.

An English scribe copying French liturgical music into a book used by English Catholic girls could be explained by the scribe being active at an English convent. Not only were the Tichborne sisters evidently resident at the English Benedictine convent in Pontoise in the 1680s, but Scribe D most likely copied liturgical music for use at a convent, as implied by the inclusion of an *alternatim* Magnificat. Scribe D copied items in close succession to music copied by the Paris-based Scribe A (most likely du Buisson), and Scribe C, who is known to have taught the Blount sisters during their time at exiled English convents in France in the 1690s and 1700s. Given this evidence, it seems likely that the scribe copying the Magnificat and ‘O salutaris hostia’ had connections with an exiled English convent in Paris. These convents were known to have sung these texts with figural music. For example, at the English Augustinian convent in Paris, its *Diurnal* notes that Vespers (the liturgical context for the Magnificat) and Eucharistic motets were performed ‘in musick’ for special services, thus requiring figural music at these services.⁹⁸ This convent could have been where the copying was done in the Tichborne Manuscript during its time in Paris. Not only are there

⁹⁵ E. Lebedinski, ‘The Travels of a Tune: Purcell’s “If love’s a sweet passion” and the Cultural Translation of Seventeenth-Century English Music’, *Early Music* 48 (2020), 75–89, at 86–7.

⁹⁶ See for example similarities with the scribe of F-Pn, VmC Rés Ms 77 (the Teynham Manuscript); a digital copy is available at *Gallica* <@>; see also Lesemann-Elliott, ‘Music, Power, and Place’, ch. 3. Note the cross strokes of the lower-case ‘t’s and ‘f’s, the upper-case ‘G’ (particularly the spur), or the shoulder and cross-stroke of the upper-case ‘T’. It is also similar to the hand of the Oxford musicians Edward Lowe and Francis Withy, for instance copying motets by Giovanni Sances in GB-Och, Mus. 49, pp. 184–90; it is available at *Digital Bodleian* <@>. See the lower-case ‘q’ and ‘p’, particularly the tail; the spine of the ‘s’; the cross-stroke and terminal of the lower-case ‘t’; and the shoulders of the lower-case ‘m’ and ‘r’.

⁹⁷ For example, the flat sign and lower-case ‘b’ are very similar, as the flat sign has a backward-curved stem, while the lower-case ‘b’ has a forward-curved ascender. Equally, the capital ‘S’ is very similar to the ‘S’ in the upper half of the treble clef, particularly as it pertains to the stress pattern in the bottom beak.

⁹⁸ See, for example, references to the procession of St Justin’s relics in the *Diurnal*, such as on 28 October 1696 (f. 9r).

precedents for the convent exchanging pupils with the Pontoise convent, as previously mentioned, but it is relatively close to the Rue de Buci, just over a kilometre away.⁹⁹

The copying of liturgical music into the Tichborne Manuscript is particularly notable given that convent school pupils at Pontoise may also have participated in liturgical singing. According to a document drawn up by the convent's abbess in 1676, the Pontoise Benedictine nuns divided pupils into four groups. The Novice Mistress taught both novices and 'schollars' not yet ready (or old enough) to begin their novitiate.¹⁰⁰ 'Schollars' were divided into 'scholars for the choir' and 'scholars for the kitchen',¹⁰¹ with the former category placed closer to the professed nuns in processions.¹⁰² Scholars were in turn separate from the 'convictresses', who at this convent were to be prepared for marriage and motherhood by the 'Mistress of the Convict'.¹⁰³ 'Scholars' at the English Benedictine convent in Pontoise (i.e. pupils marked out as potential future nuns) took a greater role in the convent's liturgy, singing the Divine Office and Mass with the choir nuns whenever novices did.¹⁰⁴ Although Frances and Lettice were both noted as entering 'for the convict', Frances's inscription of her name with an as yet untraceable second name ('Winefride') could suggest that she was toying with the idea of life as a nun. Given that Frances's older sister Mary Ann professed at Pontoise in 1678, it would not be unexpected for Frances to consider following suit.

The latter pages of the Tichborne Manuscript, copied with the book reversed, contain three English-trained scribal hands: Hand E (ff. 51v-48v, Hand F (ff. 47r-44v), and Hand G (ff. 44r-42r). Hands F and G copied single-line French dances similar both to those found in the Blount Manuscript and to those identified by Andrew Woolley as popular with French dancing masters, who used single-line notation to teach dance tunes.¹⁰⁵ Hand E copied two English songs and two items of English poetry in a manner that implies future musical setting. The first song, 'When busy fame ore all the plain', features verses from *Female Poems on Several Occasions Written by Ephelia* (1679), as set by Thomas Farmer and published by John Playford in 1684.¹⁰⁶ The second song, 'Hayl to ye Mirtle Shade', comes from Henry Purcell's music for *Theodosius, or The Force of Love* Z606/8 (1680).¹⁰⁷ The first poem copied by scribe E without music, 'All haile to ye Glorious spring', is not known elsewhere, while the second text 'Hence Cupid w<it>h your cheating toy'es', is by

⁹⁹ See the locations as depicted in Turgot's *Plan de Paris: commencé de l'année 1734* (Paris, 1739), map 7 for the English convent, map 11 for Saint-Germain-des-Prés <@>.

¹⁰⁰ Douai Abbey, T/IV/I, no. 3 (compiled by Abess Anne Neville in 1676), ff. 9v-11r: 'Of ye Mistress of Novices'.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.; see also references in Douai Abbey, BT/IV/I, no. 4 'Serimonys and Customs Throughout the year' (c.1692), such as on f. 3v.

¹⁰² Ibid., ff. 29v-30r, regarding the processions for the Feast of St. Mark, the 'scholars for ye kitchen' are not included, and scholars 'for the Quier' were placed next to professed sisters.

¹⁰³ Douai Abbey, BT/IV/I, no. 3, f. 15v.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., f. 10r; see also Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', ch. 4.

¹⁰⁵ A. Woolley, "'The Tunes of the usual French Dances at COURT and DANCING SCHOOLS': The Repertoire and Musical Practice of Dancing Masters in Restoration England', *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, eds. B. White and J. Cunningham (Woodbridge, 2020), 32-48.

¹⁰⁶ *Choice Ayres and Songs* book 5 (London: John Playford, 1684), 19.

¹⁰⁷ Modern edition: H. Purcell, *Dramatic Music Part III: Oedipus-The Wives Excuse*, ed. M. Laurie, Purcell Society Edition 21 (London, 2010), 152-3; it does not take account of the Tichbourne Manuscript.

Katherine Philips, first published by Charles Cottrell in 1667 and entitled ‘Against Love’.¹⁰⁸ This poem circulated less widely than others by Philips and no musical settings of it have yet been identified.¹⁰⁹ This suggests that Scribe E was familiar with Philips’s works and selected this text to set to music, perhaps to highlight the importance of the messages within the poem.

Conclusions: Coquettes in the Convent?

Secular French airs and Italian opera arias used in English convents and/or convent schools might seem strange to us. However, the evidence assembled here complements recent research,¹¹⁰ showing that exiled English nuns regularly used secular music for recreation, for educating pupils and for entertaining visitors. These activities may have been used to combat Protestant portrayals of convent life, which according to Liesbeth Corens acted as ‘a shorthand for the irrationality, immorality and slavish obedience’ required by the Roman Catholic faith, and contributed to what Corens identifies as largely respectful – or even admiring – accounts of visits to the convents by travelling Protestant gentlemen.¹¹¹ By identifying biographical and material links between manuscripts and institutions, this essay has shown how music manuscripts from private family collections – such as that assembled by the Blount family – illuminate the liminal role of Catholic women in early modern English musical and religious networks. Uncovering links between GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.255, an English convent in Gravelines, and the Anglo-Dutch female artist Catherine de Ryck has offered new insight into Venetian opera as an English import, while analyses of the Blount and Tichborne manuscripts has shown how English convent schools were crucial points of cultural exchange, in which pupils acted as cross-Channel mediators between the French salon, the *théâtre de la foire* and the English Catholic intelligentsia. Further analysis of the contents of the Blount collection may provide insights into how Catholic women influenced English musical cultures of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries through their ownership, copying, and use of personalised manuscripts of continental music.

¹⁰⁸ K. Philips, *Poems* (London, 1667), 143; modern edition: *Chamberlayne's Pharonnida and England's Jubilee, Benlowes' Theophila and the Poems of Katherine Philips and Patrick Hannay*. ed. G. Saintsbury. *Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, Vol. 1* (Oxford, 1905), 588-9.

¹⁰⁹ By comparison, for instance, with other widely copied songs identified by John Cunningham as from Philips’s play *Pompey's Ghost*; see J. Cunningham, ‘Songs Lost and Found: Katherine Philips’s “Pompey’s Ghost”’, *Music & Letters* 103 (2022), 591-629.

¹¹⁰ A. Cichy, ‘“How shall we sing the song of the Lord in a strange land?”: English Catholic Music after the Reformation to 1700: A Study of Institutions in Continental Europe’, D.Phil. thesis (U. of Oxford, 2014), 205-7, 215, 226; E.K. Murphy, ‘Music and post-Reformation English Catholics: Place, Sociability and Space, 1570-1640’, Ph.D. thesis (U. of York, 2014), 26, 37-41; C. Walker, ‘Prayer, Patronage, and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration’, *The Historical Journal* 43 (2000), 1-23, at 1.

¹¹¹ L. Corens, ‘Catholic Nuns and English Identities: English Protestant Travellers on the English Convents in the Low Countries, 1660-1730’, *Recusant History* 30 (2011), 441-459, at 446.

THE OXFORD MUSIC SCHOOL AND ITS ORGANS

H. DIACK JOHNSTONE

The present Oxford Music School (Schola Musicae) has stood in the south-east corner of the Old Bodleian Quadrangle since 1657. Prior to that it occupied space on the floor above, in a room which was evidently felt to be ‘too weakly built to entertaine the Company that yearly resorted thither at every Act’ to hear the Music Lecture given there on all such occasions.¹ The ground-floor location may well have been safer, but it was almost certainly no larger, and soon proved too small ‘to receive so great a Company as usually frequent that Exercise’. Thus, from 1678 onwards the annual Music Lecture, as opposed to the performance of exercises for degrees in music, and the weekly music meetings organized by the Choragus, a title that still survives, was normally given in the recently opened Sheldonian Theatre designed by Christopher Wren. It is impossible however to gain any sense of what the Schola Musicae itself looked like inside since there is absolutely no pictorial evidence known to have survived. Luckily we do have an early nineteenth-century scale drawing of the entire Bodleian quadrangle from which we can estimate the size of the present room to have been 16 feet high, 24 feet wide and 48 feet long, almost identical in size to the room on the western side of the passage leading to Radcliffe Square which some older readers will remember as the library’s former designated exhibition space.

According to the late seventeenth-century Oxford antiquary Anthony Wood, himself an ardent string player who must often have taken part in music making there, the Schola Musicae contained a gallery ‘for the ladies’. This is mentioned again by John Gutch in 1796, when it is said to have been reserved for ‘ladies, strangers, and the higher order of Academics’,² and indeed there exist a couple of old photographs taken in the late 1940s, when the room was gutted and the area above refurbished to create the present Lower Reading Room, that show the post holes in the eastern wall which must once have supported such a gallery. In addition to a large collection of MSS and printed partbooks, the basis of the Bodleian’s Music School collection, it also housed a number of musical instruments among which were a couple of violins (with bows and cases), a harpsichord and an organ, the latter apparently a small one-manual instrument built by Ralph Dallam, most probably in 1667, just two years after his father, Robert, had been buried in the cloisters at New College. That the instruments were evidently paid for by a subscription raised in 1665 for ‘the refurnishing of the publique Music Schoole’ must account for the fact that there is no mention of it in the Vice-Chancellor’s accounts. This information (together with the names of the 58 subscribers and the amount each contributed to the scheme) appears only in Sir John Hawkins’s *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*.³

That the earlier room too had housed an organ is evident from Hawkins, who tells us that Ralph Dallans [*sic*] was paid £48 for ‘an upright organ with 4 stopps’ and that he abated £10 ‘for the materials of the old organ’. Who built the old organ is a puzzle as yet

¹ For a detailed history of music in seventeenth-century Oxford, see Penelope Gouk’s very informative essay in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. N. Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), iv. 624-38; also Margaret Crum’s contributions to the Revised Descriptions of various manuscripts in the Music School collection, in the folder GB-Ob, MUS. AC.4.

² *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford ... by Anthony à Wood*, ed. J. Gutch, vol. 2, part 2 (Oxford, 1796), 889 <@>.

³ J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 5 vols. (London, 1776), iv. 374-7; repr. in 2 vols. (London, 2/1853; repr. New York, 1963), ii. 699-700 <@>. Among the most notable names on the list is that of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe (1633-1721), whose benefaction to the University of strawberries and cream on the occasion of Encænna is still enjoyed to this day.

unresolved, but when it was brought downstairs in 1657 the Vice-Chancellor's accounts inform us that one 'John Hayward' was paid £12 (a not inconsiderable sum) for repairing 'y^e organ in y^e Musick Schoole', and a further £1. 14s. 9d. for 'mending y^e harpsicall, and for other charges in tuning [both] it and the Organ'.⁴ Another bill for timber 'delivered tow [sic] M^r: Hawood ffor the orgine at the scowles' also survives.⁵ Can this have been the same John Hayward whom we now remember as one of the outstanding English harpsichord and spinet makers of the period, the man whom Thomas Mace credits with having invented the registration pedals fitted to his own harpsichord just ten or fifteen later?⁶ Alternatively, and more likely perhaps, might it have been the younger John Hayward, organ maker of Bath, whose career has been written up by Betty Matthews.⁷

So far as I can tell, the Music School is never again mentioned in the Vice-Chancellor's accounts, not even in 1780 when it was apparently refurbished, partly at the expense of the Heather Professor, Philip Hayes, with contributions from Dr Charles Burney and the still-yet-to-be doctored Thomas Sanders Dupuis. The University itself contributed £50 to which the profits of three choral concerts given the following year (including a performance of Hayes' own oratorio *Prophecy*) were subsequently added.⁸ And three years later still, in 1785, when George III and his family visited Oxford, the king is said (by Gutch) to have inspected the newly refurbished Music School, where Hayes had the honour of kissing the royal hand. Gutch's book is also interesting in containing a complete list of the musical portraits and busts then on display there. Most of the 30-odd portraits, several given by Hayes and others by the subjects themselves, now hang in the Faculty of Music, but the three busts mentioned (of Alfred the Great, Henry Purcell and William Hayes) appear long since to have gone missing. That of Purcell seems not otherwise to be recorded in the literature.

While the room continued no doubt to serve as the venue for the occasional performance of B.Mus. (and even perhaps D.Mus.) exercises, we hear no more of it in the historical records of the university until 1885, when such manuscripts and printed partbooks as were stored there were transferred to the Bodleian and any remaining instruments disposed of.⁹ Exactly what happened to the Dallam organ is not entirely clear. It must have been in that same year or thereabouts that, as the Revd Andrew Freeman tells us, it was removed from the Music School and sold to Mr T.W. Taphouse, a local music shop owner (and himself a notable collector of old musical instruments, books and MSS). Shortly afterwards Taphouse appears to have sold it on to a Mr A. Wildsmith of Malvern, who advertised it as being for sale in the March 1888 issue of *Musical Opinion*.¹⁰ By 1912 it seems to have found its way into the hands of one A.M. Broadley, a collateral descendant of Philip Hayes, and from him it passed to Mr Holland Martin of Overbury Court in Worcestershire, thence (via Martin's widow) to Worcester Cathedral (Illus. 1). In a thorough re-examination of the organ conducted by Dominic Gwynn in the summer of 2016 it became clear that the original 1667 instrument contained not just four but five stops. These were a Stopped Diapason (8'), a Principal (4'), a Twelfth (2 2/3'), a Fifteenth (2') and a Sesquialtera. The

⁴ See University Archives, NW/3/4 (a box of loose receipts from the 1650s), items 226 and 227.

⁵ Ibid., item 181.

⁶ For his biography, see esp. 'Haward or Hayward, 1: Charles Haward', *Boalch-Mould Online* <@>.

⁷ B. Matthews, 'The Haywards of Bath', *BIOS Journal* 19 (1995), 46-52.

⁸ *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford ... by Anthony à Wood*, ed. J. Gutch, vol. 2, part 2, 888-9.

⁹ For an inventory of the collection probably made c.1720, see W.K. Ford, 'The Oxford Music School in the late 17th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964), 198-203; also, and much more importantly, M. Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford School Collection', *Music & Letters* 48 (1967), 23-34, whose final paragraph shows exactly where in the room the MSS at any rate were stored in 1855.

¹⁰ See M.L. Wilson, *The English Chamber Organ* (Oxford, 1968), 98-9.

last two are partly the work of Samuel Green, who was the first to restore the organ, in 1774; but the first three are evidently original.¹¹



Illus. 1: Chamber organ by Ralph Dallam (1667), rebuilt by Samuel Green (1774), now in Worcester Cathedral (Dominic Gwynn)

¹¹ See D.R.S. Force, “‘A Holding, Uniting-Constant Friend’: The Organ in Seventeenth-Century English Domestic Music”, Ph.D. thesis (The Open University, 2019), 222.

CORELLI IN THE LONDON THEATRES: JOHN LENTON, TENBURY MS 1312 AND THE ENGLISH RECEPTION OF WoO 2 AND WoO 4¹

PETER HOLMAN

‘It [is] wonderfull to observe what a skatching of Correlli there is every where – nothing will relish but Corelli’ wrote Roger North around 1710, adding in another essay: ‘Then came over Corelly’s first consort that cleared the ground of all other sorts of musick whatsoever. By degrees the rest of his consorts, and at last the conciertos came, all which are to the musitians like the bread of life’.² As North implied, English musicians were first introduced to Corelli through the four sets of trio sonatas, all originally published in Rome: op. 1 (1681); op. 2 (1685); op. 3 (1689); and op. 4 (1694). They were reprinted by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam between 1696 and 1698;³ were listed in a catalogue Henry Playford issued around 1697;⁴ and began to be copied by English musicians into manuscript sets of partbooks as early as the 1680s.⁵ There was no genuine set of solo violin sonatas by Corelli available until op. 5 was published in Rome in 1700, followed quickly by reprints in Amsterdam and London.⁶ However, a number of other solo sonatas attributed to him were already being copied into English manuscripts, some of which probably derive from *Sonate a violino solo col basso continuo composta da Arcangelo Corelli e altri autory*, published by Roger in 1697.⁷

Corelli’s last publication, the op. 6 concertos, appeared posthumously, issued by Roger in 1714,⁸ though a concerto attributed to him had been circulating much earlier mostly in manuscript, and survives in four English sources. It was accepted by Hans-Joachim Marx as genuine, rightly in my opinion. He included it in the last volume of the Corelli *Gesamtausgabe* as the ‘Sonata a Quattro’ in G minor WoO 2, laid out for two violins, ‘violetta’ and bass. In addition, a second four-part piece was rightly accepted as genuine by Marx: the ‘Sonata a Quattro’ in D major WoO 4 for trumpet, two violins and continuo. It too survives in four English sources.⁹ I became interested in these two pieces, and the wider subject of the English reception of Corelli, as the result of a chance discovery. Leafing through Marx’s edition in search of something else I came across a facsimile of the first violin part of WoO 2 in a hand I thought I recognised (Illus. 1).¹⁰

¹ I am grateful to Michael Talbot, Harry Johnstone, Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for their helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

² Roger North on Music, ed. J. Wilson (London, 1959), xx, 310-11.

³ R. Rasch, *The Music Publishing House of Estienne Roger*, part 4: *The Catalogue, Caix-Croft*, 33-55 <@>.

⁴ P. Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford, 1999), 190.

⁵ See esp. M.-J. Kang, ‘The Trio Sonata in Restoration England (1660-1714)’, Ph.D. thesis (University of Leeds, 2008), esp. 131-5; A. Pavanello, ‘The Other Corelli: Violin Sonatas in English Sources’, *Ad Parnassum* 13, no. 26 (October 2015), 15-44, esp. 16-20; Kang, ‘The Fashion for Corelli in England’, *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Peter Holman*, ed. J. Cunningham and B. White (Woodbridge, 2020), 92-107.

⁶ Rasch, *Estienne Roger*, part 4: *The Catalogue, Caix-Croft*, 55-9; Pavanello, ‘The Other Corelli’, esp. 20-44; A.N. Williams, ‘“Curious sola’s”: The Solo Sonata in Restoration Britain’, Ph.D. diss. (Cardiff University, 2020), esp. 118-21 <@>.

⁷ Rasch, *Estienne Roger*, part 4: *The Catalogue, Saint-Hélène-Swaen*, 69-70; Williams, ‘“Curious sola’s”’, 61-6. Five of these sonatas were included in A. Corelli, *Gesamtausgabe*, v: *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. H.J. Marx (Cologne, 1976), 86-108.

⁸ Rasch, *Estienne Roger*, part 4: *The Catalogue, Caix-Croft*, 65-7. For the English reception of Corelli’s op. 6 concertos, see Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli*, 192-3.

⁹ Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Marx, 37-43, 44-50.

¹⁰ Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Marx, 11



Illus. 1: GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, f. 2v

mol *Dialogue*
of Messenger bringing word to Venus of her Adonis is layd dead by
Breathing out his last, having received some fatal wound

Messenger
 Awake fair Venus wake look yonders hee whose life whose
 soul & heart is wrapt in thee. Pore haerles youth he gets
 fatal wound from Angell gods, lyes bleeding on the ground
 See how his Anguished soul Expiring flies, and groaning=
 Venus
 Echoes rend the Aetheriall skyes,
 All one. Dire fate, are still the furies bent to heap their
 torments on the innocent, Adonis if thou goest where then shalt=
 I my soul Discharge, & soon will ~~be~~ Die

Illus. 2: GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 2013, f. 66r

The manuscript from which this page comes, GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, was used by Marx in the commentary of his edition, though he did not identify the copyist. However, after some searching around (and with Andrew Woolley's help) I realised that it is in the hand of the violinist, singer and composer John Lenton (?1657-1719).¹¹ Lenton worked at court, as a member of the Twenty-Four Violins from 1681 and a gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1685, and in the London theatres, composing sets of theatre airs for the United Company apparently as early as 1682. After the company broke up in 1695 he moved with Thomas Betterton's company to the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, continuing to write sets of theatre airs there until at least 1705. We can presume that he played the violin in its band, and perhaps led it.

Lenton's distinctive hand is known from some other manuscripts, including his unfinished dialogue 'Awake, fair Venus' for three voices and continuo, added to the much earlier song collection GB-Lbl, Egerton MS 2013, ff. 66-8 (**Illus. 2**),¹² and four sets of parts of theatre airs (together with the second violin part of an unidentified fifth set) in GB-Lbl, Add. MS 24889, a collection of originally looseleaf parts apparently compiled and owned by the musical small-coal man Thomas Britton in the early eighteenth century;¹³ they include Lenton's own 'Overture in the Moor of Venice', GB-Lbl, Add. MS 24889, ff. 6, 29, 54, 74 (**Illus. 3**), probably written for a 1680s revival of Shakespeare's *Othello*.¹⁴ In addition, Lenton seems to have done his own engraving for the collection of two-part 'Easie Lessons' he appended to his violin treatise *The Gentleman's Diversion*, published in the winter of 1693-4 (**Illus. 4**).¹⁵

¹¹ I am grateful to Martin Holmes, Alfred Brendel Curator of Music, Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, for providing me with images of the manuscript and for arranging for its watermarks to be photographed when the library was closed in 2020 during the pandemic lockdown. For Lenton, see esp. P. Holman 'John Lenton', *Oxford Music Online* <<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>>; A. Ashbee, 'John Lenton', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB] <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/>>; *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, comp. A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki with P. Holman and F. Kisby, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1998), ii. 717-18.

¹² Facsimile in *English Song 1600-1675*, part 2: *British Library Manuscripts Part II*, introduction by E.B. Jorgens (New York and London, 1986). An example of Lenton's literary hand is a letter written in 1712 to the London apothecary James Petifer, GB-Lbl, Sloane MS 4065, f. 49.

¹³ See C. Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult', *The Musical Times* 119 (1978), 1032-4.

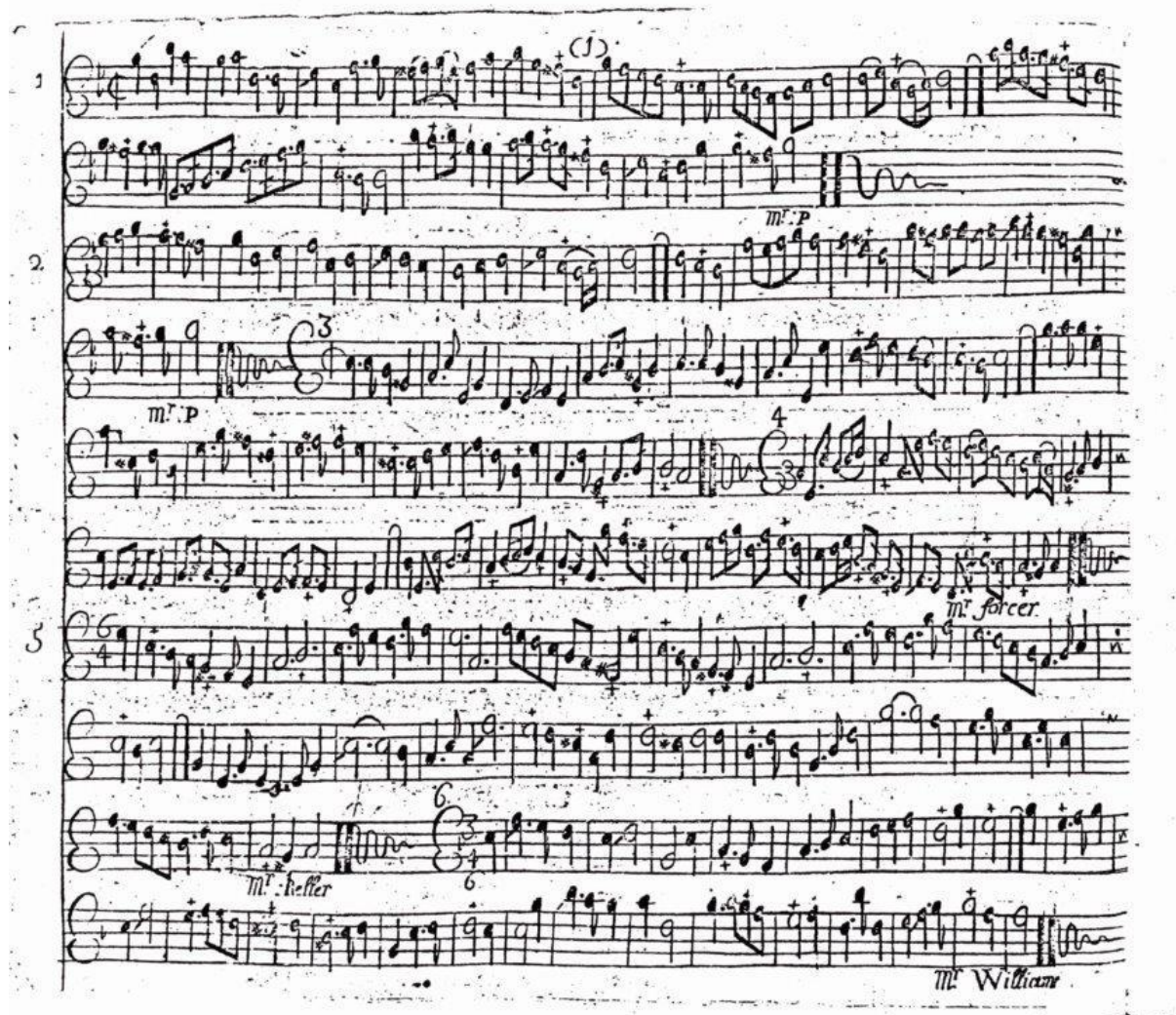
¹⁴ There were relevant revivals by the United Company in January 1683, May 1685, December 1685, February 1686 and November 1686; see *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 1: 1660-1700*, ed. W. Van Lennep (Carbondale IL, 1965), 318, 337, 344, 346, 353.

¹⁵ See M. Boyd and J. Rayson, 'The Gentleman's Diversion: John Lenton and the First Violin Tutor', *Early Music* 10 (1982), 329-32.



Illus. 3: GB-Lbl, Add. 24889, f. 6r

Illus. 4: J. Lenton, *The Gentleman's Diversion* (London, 1683-4, music supplement, p. 1



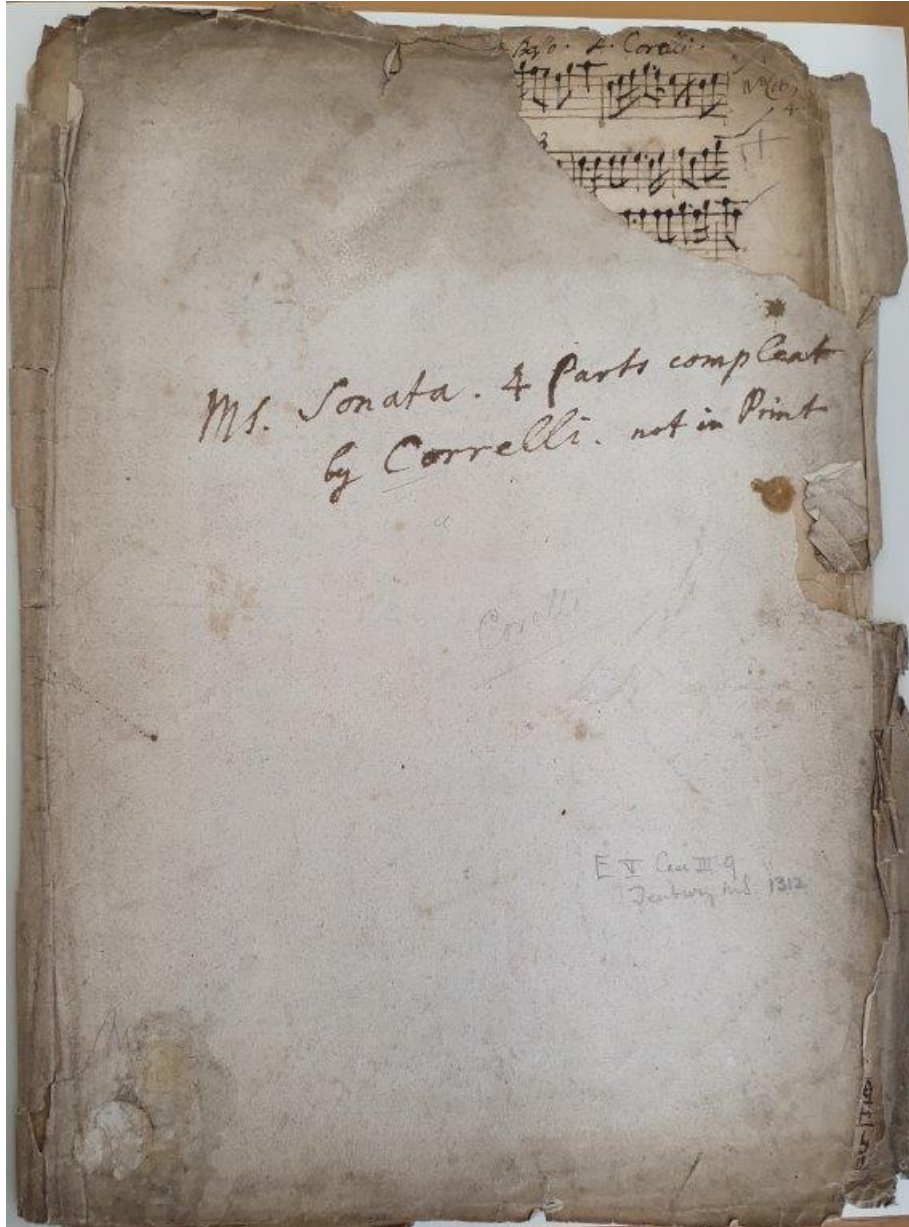
Illus. 4: J. Lenton, *The Gentleman's Diversion* (London, 1693-4), music supplement, p. 1

The wrapper that encloses Lenton's four parts has an inscription on the cover in a later hand: 'Ms. Sonata. 4 Parts compleat / by Correlli. not in Print' (Illus. 5). Inside is the crossed-out inscription 'D^r Cooke', which gives us a clue to the manuscript's later history. It was evidently lot 59 in the auction of the library of the composer and organist Benjamin Cooke the younger (1734-93) on 5 and 6 August 1845, where it is listed as 'CORELLI, a MS. Sonata in 4 parts / ** Marked by Dr. Cooke "not in print."'.¹⁶ The cataloguer seems to have been correct in asserting that the inscription on the wrapper is in Cooke's hand.¹⁷ It is not known how and when Cooke acquired the manuscript, nor when it entered the library of St Michael's College at Tenbury Wells in

¹⁶ J. Fletcher, *Catalogue of the Extensive, Rare, and Valuable Library of the Late Benjamin Cooke*, *Mus. Doc.* (5, 6 August 1845), 3. See also A.H. King, *Some British Collectors of Music c.1600-1960* (Cambridge, 1963), 93, 135. For Cooke, see H.D. Johnstone, 'Benjamin Cooke', *ODNB*. I am grateful to Tim Eggington for providing me with a copy of this catalogue, and for confirming that the sale was occasioned by the death in 1845 of Cooke's unmarried daughter Amelia, who had presumably inherited his music library.

¹⁷ See, for instance, the literary hand in the Cooke autographs included in GB-Lcm, MSS 812 and 822, available in digital form at the Internet Archive <@>. A. Pavanello, 'Corelli tra Scarlatti e Lully: una nuova fonte della sonata WoO 2', *Acta musicologica* 71, no. 2 (July-December 1999), 61-75, at 70-1, fn. 54, reports Robert Bruce's opinion that this inscription is in the hand of William Boyce, which in my opinion is not so.

Worcestershire; the college was founded by Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley (1825-89) in 1856 and the library incorporated his personal collection.¹⁸ However, Ouseley was almost 20 at the time of the 1845 sale (he was an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford) and could have purchased it himself on that occasion.¹⁹ It was presumably deposited at the Bodleian Library in 1978 with most of the other Tenbury music manuscripts.



Illus. 5: GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, front of wrapper

¹⁸ See *Archives and Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library: The Library of St Michael's College, Tenbury* <@>.

¹⁹ For Ouseley, see W. Shaw, 'Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, second baronet (1825-1889)', ODNB.

The Sinfonia in D major WoO 4

Scholars have long known that WoO 4 has strong connections with England. Of the seven sources listed and used by Marx for his edition, four are English. In addition to Tenbury MS 1312, the trumpet and violin 1 parts are in the violin book GB-Lbl, Add. MS 35043, copied by one John Channing and dated 1694 on the spine;²⁰ it is complete in the partbooks GB-Lbl, Add. MSS 30839, 39565-7, copied in England around 1700 by a French-speaking musician, possibly a member of Princess Anne's oboe band;²¹ and it was published by John Walsh in 1704.²² Marx printed a stemma in his edition in which the four English sources are shown descending from a lost source he labelled 'b', a hypothetical intermediary between them and Corelli's lost autograph, labelled 'a'. The other two branches of Marx's stemma are occupied respectively by a Neapolitan score (I-Nc, MS 1282) and a related set of parts (I-Nc, MSS 1293-5), which he used as his primary sources for the edition; and a set of parts in Vienna (A-Wn, E. M. 98b) preserving a version of the work transposed into C major with the trumpet part allocated to oboe.²³

However, this stemma is clearly faulty. As Marx's critical commentary shows, the text transmitted by John Lenton in Tenbury MS 1312 is independent of all the others, and two features in particular suggest it was copied from an early Roman source. Lenton entitled it 'Sinfonia', whereas all the others label it 'Sonata', except for Add. MSS 30839, 39565-7 where it does not have a genre title. 'Sinfonia' or 'Simfonia' were labels commonly used in Rome for works that would have been called 'Sonata' elsewhere, as can be seen in examples by Lelio Colista, Alessandro Stradella, Carlo Mannelli and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, among others.²⁴ More important, just before the final 6/4 section in the two violin parts as copied by Lenton, there is a passage of seven barless semibreves in the bass clef with the apparently contradictory rubric 'violino tacet. / violino solo.' (**Illus. 6**). It is also present in the continuo part, marked 'Solo', but it is absent from the trumpet part.

Marx printed this passage, unique to Tenbury MS 1312, in his commentary, but he was clearly unaware of its significance. 'Blank passages' of this sort, consisting of short sequences of unbarred semibreves in the bass clef inserted between fully composed sections in violin parts as well as in bass and continuo parts, occur in the sources of a number of sinfonias by mid-century Roman composers, mostly those surviving in northern European libraries.²⁵ They include pieces for two violins and continuo by Agostino Guerrieri; for two violins, 'leuto' and continuo by Colista; for two violins, 'liuto' or 'basso di viola' and continuo by Pietro Sanmartini; and for larger combinations including multiple continuo instruments. The most richly scored pieces are a 'Sinfonia a6 Primo Tono' dated 1654 by the Roman organist Vincenzo Albrici (1631-87) for 3 violins, 3 bass viols, 'Tiorba' 'Chitarra' or 'Spinetta', 'Cembalo' and 'Organo',²⁶ and an anonymous 'Simphonia a7' in a

²⁰ For this manuscript, see Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Marx, 112; R. Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England. Appendix: Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts* <@>, where it is dated 1694-7.

²¹ For this source, see M. Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England, 1675-1720', Ph.D. thesis (U. of Cambridge, 1960), 383-4; Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Marx, 112; R. Shay and R. Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge, 2000), 302-3. Alon Schab is editing a selection of music from it for the Purcell Society Edition Companion Series.

²² RISM A/1, C3858; see also W.C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720* (Oxford, 1968), 48; Corelli, *Werke ohne Opuszahl*, ed. Marx, 113.

²³ RISM A/II, 600236767. A digital copy of this source is available at the IMSLP website <@>.

²⁴ On this point, see P. Allsop, *The Italian 'Trio' Sonata from its Origins until Corelli* (Oxford, 1992), esp. 192-207.

²⁵ See E. McCrickard, 'The Roman Repertory for Violin before the Time of Corelli', *Early Music* 18 (1990), 563-73, esp. 568-9 and fn. 18. I am also indebted to the handout Eleanor McCrickard produced for her unpublished paper "Blank" Places in Baroque Sonatas: Improvisation at its Best?, given at the Eighth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, University of Exeter, 9-12 July 1998.

²⁶ S-Uu, ihms 001:001 <@>; RISM A/II, 190006595. There is a modern edition, ed. B. Clark (Arbroath, 2006).

late seventeenth-century collection probably of Roman provenance now in Oxford, for two violins and six figured bass parts, two for 'Cembalo' and three for 'Leuto' with 'Organo'.²⁷



Illus. 6: GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, f. 2r

²⁷ GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. d. 260, ff. 132-47v, item no. 15; see the list of the contents of the manuscript, derived from Margaret Crum's 'Revised Descriptions', at *Bodleian Archives & Manuscripts*, MS Mus. Sch. d. 260 <@>.

These ‘blank passages’ seem to be notated evidence of a Roman practice in which instrumentalists took turns improvising over ground-bass like passages of long notes played by the organ. The French writer and viol player André Maugars wrote a description of a performance at the Oratorio del Santissimo Crocifisso during Lent in 1639, noting that the instrumental ensemble consisted of ‘an organ, a large harpsichord [Clavessin], a lirone [Lyre], two or three violins, and two or three archlutes [Archiluths]’.²⁸ He described the performance of a piece seemingly similar to the sinfonias with ‘blank passages’: ‘sometimes a violin played alone with the organ, and then another answered, another time all three played different parts together, and then all the instruments played together. Sometimes an archlute made a thousand variations on ten or twelve notes, each note lasting five or six measures, then the other [archlute] played the same passage although differently ... but above all the great Frescobaldi made a thousand inventions on his harpsichord, the organ always providing support [tenant toujours ferme]’.

We cannot be sure that the ‘blank passage’ in Lenton’s parts of WoO 4 derives from the composer, though it certainly suggests he was copying from an early Roman manuscript. One source of WoO 4 had apparently arrived in England by 1692 because, as Alan Howard has pointed out, its fugal second section seems to have inspired the Canzona from the Sonata or Symphony to the Masque of the Four Seasons in Act IV of Purcell’s *Fairy Queen* Z629/27b, first performed on 2 May 1692.²⁹ A complication is that Alessandro Stradella’s serenata *Il barcheggio* (1681) includes a canzona (the third section of its first sinfonia) based on a similar subject, and is scored like WoO 4 for trumpet (though with cornett given as an alternative), two violins and continuo.³⁰ He observed: ‘it is hard to escape the conclusion that Purcell based his fugue on either or both of the similar movements from Stradella’s *Il barcheggio* and Corelli’s Sonata a 4. WoO 4’, demonstrating his point with some telling music examples.³¹

Howard discussed various people who might have brought one or both of these pieces to England: someone associated with Mary of Modena, the wife of the future James II from 1673 and queen from 1685; Innocenzo Fede, the *maestro* of James II’s Catholic chapel, who had been recruited in Rome, probably in 1686; someone accompanying the Earl of Castlemaine on the embassy to the Pope in 1686-7; and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, who supposedly visited London in 1687.³² I have suggested, using evidence from Charles II’s secret service funds, that the singer and composer John Abell accompanied Castlemaine to Rome in 1686.³³ I will return to the English reception of WoO 4, though it was probably first brought to England between 1685 and 1687, and there is a suggestion that Corelli originally wrote it to introduce a serenata performed in Rome in 1681.³⁴ The text of WoO 4 as transmitted by Lenton has some small errors, but it is certainly likely to be closer to Corelli’s lost autograph than the rather later Neapolitan sources chosen by Marx as his copy texts.

²⁸ Translation adapted from F. Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi* (Cambridge MA, 1983), 91. There is a diplomatic transcription of the original French text, A. Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d’Italie* (Rome, 1639), 12-13, in Indiana University, Jacobs School of Music, Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature, *Traité français sur la musique, Sources du dix-septième siècle* <@>.

²⁹ Modern edition: H. Purcell, *The Fairy Queen*, ed. B. Wood and A. Pinnock, Purcell Society Edition 12 (London, 2009), 99-102.

³⁰ A convenient modern edition is A. Stradella, *Il barcheggio, serenata a tre voci con strumenti, Genova 1681*, ed. L. Girodo (ISMLP, 2020), 5-8 <@>.

³¹ A. Howard, *Compositional Artifice in the Music of Henry Purcell* (Cambridge, 2020), 258-60.

³² Howard, *Compositional Artifice*, 260-1.

³³ P. Holman, ‘Arcangelo Corelli, his Trumpet Sinfonia and the Mysterious Mr Twisleton: New Light on a Murky Episode in British, French and Jacobite Cultural Politics’, *A Handbook for Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Music* 25, ed. C. Coleman and K. Hogg (London, 2021), 1-25, at 9, 11.

³⁴ This will be argued by Louise Stein in a forthcoming book.

The Concerto in G minor WoO 2

In his edition Marx listed five sources for WoO 2, using as his copy texts the same Neapolitan score (I-Nc, MS 1282) and set of parts (I-Nc, MSS 1293-5) as WoO 4, though he also listed two English manuscript sources, Tenbury MS 1312 and GB-Lcm, MS 1172, f. 40-40v. The latter is a score entitled ‘Del Concerti Grosso del S^r Arcangelo Corelli’ and was copied by the individual scholars call London A, a member of Purcell’s circle and a theatre copyist;³⁵ the manuscript mostly contains instrumental music written for the Drury Lane Theatre in the 1690s. WoO 2 is also found as the first item in an anthology published by Estienne Roger in 1699, *Six sonates à 4, 5, et 6 parties, dont les 2 premiers sont de Mr. Arcangelo Corelli, le 3me de Mr. Antonio Caldara et les 3 derniers de Mr. Dominico Gabrielli*.³⁶ Unfortunately, only its ‘Alto Viola’ part survives. It too has English connections because Roger dedicated it to the harpsichordist and composer Johann Gottfried Keller (1657-1704), who had apparently come to England around 1680 and was active in London concert life in the 1690s.³⁷ Roger’s dedication does not survive (it was probably in the lost violin 1 part), but it may have thanked Keller for sending him a manuscript of WoO 2 he used for the edition.

No fewer than six new sources for all or part of WoO 2 have been identified since Marx published his edition in 1976. A score, apparently of Roman provenance and copied around 1700, is in the Santini collection at Münster, D-MÜs (in D-MÜp), MS 3975, ff. 79-80.³⁸ It is entitled ‘Sinfonia’ and consists just of the two violin and bass parts; the third (Allegro) movement also appears separately at f. 75 entitled ‘Sonata a3’ and attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti. Also, two early eighteenth-century keyboard or harp arrangements of the same Allegro section of WoO 2, the second entitled ‘Aria della Ninfa’, have recently been identified in a manuscript at Braga in Portugal.³⁹

The most important of these new sources is English and is best discussed in conjunction with Tenbury MS 1312 since they transmit closely related texts. Marx presented WoO 2 in his edition as a ‘Sonata a quattro’, taking his cue from the Neapolitan sources and the 1699 print, and laid it out in four parts, for two violins, viola and bass. However, the titles of Lenton’s four parts tell a more complex story. As can be seen from Table 1 below, he labelled the ‘Tenore’ (viola) part ‘Concerto a 4^o’, but labelled the other parts ‘a 7’ – in seven parts – and ‘Concertino’, with the bass part designated for ‘Luto’ (i.e. *lento*, normally an archlute at this period) rather than the more common English designation *basso* – which Lenton used for WoO 4. The reason for this is revealed by a source not known to Marx: a set of seven parts now forming GB-Lam, MS 289.⁴⁰

³⁵ For MS 1172, see the facsimile, *Instrumental Music for London Theatres, 1690-99: Royal College of Music, London, MS 1172*, introduction by C. Price, Music for London Entertainment 1660-1800, series A, vol. 3 (Withyham, 1987); Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 298-302; Herissone, *Catalogue of Restoration Music Manuscripts*. For London A, see esp. Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 131-5.

³⁶ RISM A/I, C3856; Rasch, *Estienne Roger*, part 4: *The Catalogue, Saint-Hélène-Swaen*, 70-1.

³⁷ P. Holman, ‘J(ohann) Gottfried [Godfrey] Keller’, *Oxford Music Online*; Holman, ‘The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger’s Music Library: New light on London Concert Life in the 1690s’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 43 (2010), 23-38, esp. 24-5; H.O. Koch, ‘Johann Andreas Keller (1639-nach 1695) aus Worms, der letzte Heidelberger Hofkapellmeister, und sein Sohn Johann Gottfried (Godfrey) Keller (1657-1704)’, *Die Wormsgau* 36 (2020), 33-42.

³⁸ RISM A/II, 451023623; see Pavanello, ‘Corelli tra Scarlatti e Lully’.

³⁹ P-BRad, MS 964, ff. 228, 257v-8; see *Portuguese Early Music Database* <@>. I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for drawing this manuscript to my attention.

⁴⁰ RISM A/II, 800159005. It is available in digital form at the Internet Archive <@>. So far as I am aware, it has only previously been discussed in the scholarly literature in Pavanello, ‘Corelli tra Scarlatti e Lully’, 70.



Illus. 7: GB-Lam, Add. MS 289, f. 9r

MS 289 consists of Italian, probably Roman, paper, with a watermark of a fleur-de-lis within two concentric rings, according to RISM. Each part consists of a bifolium in upright quarto format, with nine staves ruled without vertical guidelines using a rastrum, the first page serving as a title page followed by three pages of music. This format is typical of Italian sets of parts at the time, though the copyist used non-Italian nomenclature such as the label 'Tenore' on the title page of the viola part (**Illus. 7**), rather than 'Tenore viola' or 'Violetta tenore' (or for that matter 'Alto viola', used in the Roger print) or the abbreviation 'Pres.' for Presto, and he wrote semiquaver rests in a form closer to the modern one than that used by contemporary Italian copyists (see **Illus. 8**).⁴¹ It is therefore likely he was an Englishman, perhaps working in Rome in the 1680s or 90s. RISM dates the copying '1690-99', the Royal Academy catalogue 'between 1675 and 1695', though it is not explained why these dates are so precise.⁴² Nothing seems to be known of MS 289's

⁴¹ I am grateful to Michael Talbot for these observations.

⁴² Royal Academy of Music, Library Catalogue <@>.

provenance.between 1675 and 1695', though it is not explained why these dates are so precise.⁴³ Nothing seems to be known of MS 289's provenance.

Ex. 1: Arcangelo Corelli, Concerto in G minor WoO 2,
movement 2, literal transcription from GB-Lam, MS 289

The image displays a musical score for Arcangelo Corelli's Concerto in G minor, movement 2. The score is a literal transcription from MS 289 and consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes staves for Violino I Concertino, Violino I Concerto Grosso, Violino II Concertino, Violino II Concerto Grosso, Tenore Concerto Grosso, Leuto Concertino, and Violone Concerto Grosso. The second system continues the transcription for the same instruments. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and fingerings.

Ex. 2: Arcangelo Corelli, Concerto in G minor WoO 2,
movement 6, bb. 1-16, after GB-Lam, MS 289

Allegro

[Violino I
Concertino] *p*

[Violino I
Concerto Grosso]

[Violino II
Concertino] *p*

[Violino II
Concerto Grosso]

[Tenore
Concerto Grosso]

[Leuto
Concertino] *[p]*

[Violone
Concerto Grosso]

8

f

f

[p]

⁴³ Royal Academy of Music, Library Catalogue <@>.

It is also clear that the copyist of MS 289 was not musically perceptive, as can be seen from Illus. 7, where vertical lines, placed above the middle of minims to indicate bar lines, seem to have been misinterpreted as flats. This misunderstanding had disastrous consequences for the musical sense, as can be seen from a literal transcription of the second section of WoO 2 (**Ex. 1**), though it does tell us that the copyist was working from another set of parts rather than a score – which would have had conventional bar lines, not open to misunderstanding. Nevertheless, as Ex. 1 shows, the most striking feature of MS 289 is that it presents WoO 2 not as a ‘Sonata a quattro’ but as a seven-part concerto grosso, with two concertino and two ripieno violin parts, viola and two bass parts, one marked ‘Concertino’ and ‘Leuto’ and the other, the ripieno part, marked ‘Violone’ – the most common word for a bass violin or large violoncello in Rome and most of Italy at the time.⁴⁴

Comparing the wording of the title pages of MS 289 with the labels in Tenbury MS 1312 immediately raises the possibility that John Lenton had this manuscript in front of him when he made his copy of WoO 2:

Table 1: The Titles of WoO 2 in GB-Lam, MS 289 and GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312

MS 289:

- f. 1r: ‘Violino Primo / per il / Concertino à 7. / Del S^r. / A: Corelli’
- f. 3r: ‘Violino Primo / p il / Concerto Grosso à 7 / Del Sig^r. / A. Corelli’
- f. 5r: ‘Violino Sec^o. / per il / Concertino à 7. / Del S^r. / A: Corelli’
- f. 7r: ‘Viol^o: Sec^o. / p il / Conc^o. à 7 / Del Sig^r. / A: Corelli’
- f. 9r: ‘Tenore / p il / Conc. à 7. / Del S^r. / A: Corelli’
- f. 13r: ‘Pèr Il / Concertino à 7. / Leuto / Del Sig^r. / A. Corelli’
- f. 11r: ‘Violone / p il / Conc. à 7. / Del S^r. / A. Corelli’

Tenbury MS 1312:

- f. 2v: ‘a 7 / Violino primo. / a. 7. / Concertino. / A Corelli.’
- f. 3v: ‘Violino secondo. / a 7. / Concertino. A. Corelli.’
- f. 1v: ‘a 7. Tenore. / Concerto a 4^o. / A. Corelli’
- f. 4v: ‘Luto. / a. 7. / Concertino. / A. Corelli.’

This is borne out by the musical texts the two manuscripts transmit. They are almost identical, even down to the continuo figuring in the Leuto part, though Lenton had the wit to see that the rogue flats in the violin parts of MS 289 were actually bar-line indications, and in one place (b. 15 of the Presto section in Marx’s edition) he realised that a slur had been wrongly placed as a tie. Furthermore, a tell-tale error in the continuo figuring in both parts confirms that Lenton was copying directly from MS 289 (**Illus. 9, 10**): at the end of the first section (b. 8 in Marx’s edition) there is a nonsensical ‘#6’ above the D – a D major chord. Perhaps the copyist of MS 289 misinterpreted a misshapen fermata in his copy text as a ‘6’, assuming it belonged to the sharp as a continuo figure, and Lenton, a violinist not a continuo player, did not spot the error.

⁴⁴ See esp. S. Bonta, ‘Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy’, *The American Musical Instrument Society IV: Meriden CT, 1979*, 64-99, reprinted in Bonta, *Studies in Italian Sacred and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Aldershot, 2003), no. 5.



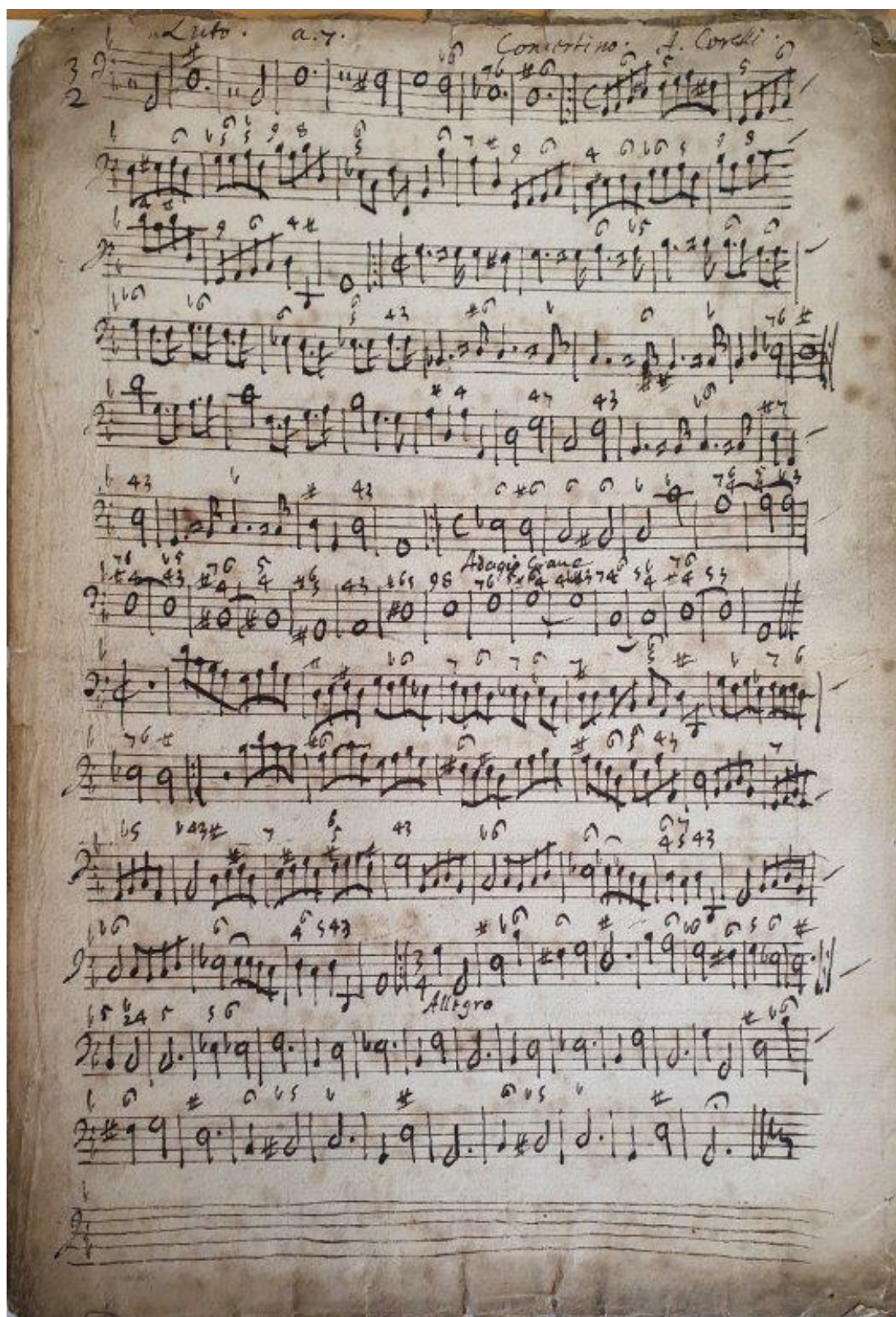
Illus. 8: GB-Lam, MS 289, f. 1v



Illus. 9: GB-Lam, MS 289, f. 13v

One more English source of WoO 2 has recently come to light in an unexpected place. GB-WWro, CR1291/474 is a late eighteenth-century guard-book of items apparently assembled and partially copied by Charlotte Anne Greswold Lewis née Bridgeman (1761-1802).⁴⁵ It includes a much earlier four-page manuscript (ff. 37-40v) consisting of six-stave oblong quarto paper ruled with a rastrum

⁴⁵ For Charlotte Greswold Lewis, see esp. M. Perkins, 'The Music-Making of the Bridgeman Family, Weston Park', *Music by Subscription: Composers and their Networks in the Music-Publishing Trade, 1676-1820*, ed. S.D.I. Fleming and Perkins (Abingdon, 2022), 131-51, esp. 136-8.



Illus. 10: GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, f. 4v

with vertical guides in the Restoration manner.⁴⁶ It is part of the collection of the Greswold or Greswolde family of Malvern Hall in Solihull, now deposited at the Warwickshire County Record Office in Warwick. A late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century hand wrote (ff. 37-8) the first violin part of WoO 2, entitling it ‘Violino P^o: del Concertino Sinfonia à 4. Violini, Viela ed’ Arci Lueto Musica Del Sig^e. Arcangel Corelli Bolognese.’ (**Illus. 10**). The same hand also wrote (ff. 39-40v) the first violin parts of Corelli’s trio sonatas op. 4, nos. 1 and 2. This copyist is unidentified at present, though the Bridgeman or Bridgman family was notably musical, with earlier members including the civil servant William (1646-99) and the lawyer Orlando (1671-1721), stewards of the Musical Society in London respectively for the 1684 and 1697 St Cecilia celebrations, as well as Sir John (1667-1747), Orlando’s elder brother and third Baronet of Castle Bromwich.⁴⁷ Thus is likely that the Greswold Corelli manuscript was passed down from an early eighteenth-century member of the Bridgeman family, who had copied it or had it copied.

As with MS 289, the copyist of the Greswold manuscript seems to have been to have been an English musician not conversant with Italian or Italian handwriting, which produced some slips in the title: ‘Viela’ for *viola* or *alto viola*, ‘Arci Lueto’ for *arcileuto* and ‘Arcangel’ for Arcangelo.⁴⁸ The musical text transmitted is clearly independent of the one used by the copyist of MS 289 (and then passed on to John Lenton), though it too seems to derive from an early source. As we have seen, the title ‘Sinfonia’ suggests a Roman provenance, and it has the short version of the last movement, to be discussed below. A distinctive feature is a number of extra dynamics. According to Marx they are also present in the 1699 print, which suggests a relationship with it, though Roger referred to WoO 2 as one of six *sonates* rather than as a ‘Concertino Sinfonia’.

This is not the place for a detailed evaluation of all the sources of WoO 2, though, as with WoO 4, the versions transmitted by MS 289 (and Lenton in Tenbury MS 1312) and by the Greswold manuscript are likely to be earlier and closer to Corelli’s original than the Neapolitan sources used by Marx as his copy texts.⁴⁹ In practice, the differences between MS 289’s seven-part version and the four-part one as published by Marx are largely confined to details, since there is no writing in seven real parts and the four-part version includes some solo and tutti marks, though the Naples manuscripts (and Marx’s edition) do not indicate that b. 1 and the first half of b. 8 of the Presto section are not in the Violin 1 ripieno part and therefore should be solos.

However, there are more substantial differences in the last movement, marked Vivace in the Naples sources preferred by Marx, Allegro in the all the others. As published by Marx it consists of 76 bars, with a different sequence of phrases and more repetitions than in MS 289 and Tenbury MS 1312, which have 64 bars. We can see from the surviving viola part of the 1699 print and the violin part of the Greswold manuscript that the movement in these related versions also have 64 bars, though without a double bar separating the two sections. To complicate things further, the version in GB-Lcm, MS 1172, also without a double bar, consists of only 40 bars, without the written-out repeat of the last 24 bars in the other English sources. Perhaps London A intended a *dal segno* repeat of that passage to bring the movement up to 64 bars. It looks as if the 64-bar version is Corelli’s original and the 76-bar version a reworking, perhaps made in the early

⁴⁶ RISM A/II, 806409976, where there is a summary list of contents <@>. I am grateful to Robert Pitt of Warwickshire County Record Office for informing me that the paper has identifiable watermarks, which remain to be investigated.

⁴⁷ B. White, *Music for St Cecilia’s Day from Purcell to Handel* (Woodbridge, 2019), esp. 60, 64-7, 70, 72, 74. I am grateful for Bryan White for sharing with me his notes on the Restoration members of the Bridgeman family.

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Michael Talbot for this observation.

⁴⁹ A recent modern edition, A. Corelli, *Concertino à 7*, ed. B Clark (Wyton, 2020), uses GB-Lam, MS 289 as the sole source. There a need for a new critical edition taking account of all the sources.

eighteenth century by the composer or someone else to make WoO 2 appear more substantial at a time when longer, more developed movements were becoming the norm.

The most striking feature of the version of WoO 2 as transmitted by London A in MS 1172 is that there is no bass in the concertino sections of the last movement (**Illus. 11**). In MS 289 the 'Leuto Concertino' plays with the two solo violins in these passages while the Violone only plays with the full group (**Ex. 2**). The obvious explanation for this is that London A copied from a set of seven parts similar to MS 289, intending to produce a four-part version akin to the one Lenton copied. However, while Lenton wisely chose the 'Leuto Concertino' part, ensuring that the textures of his version were complete, London A made the unfortunate decision to opt for the 'Violone' part, with its rests in the concertino sections.



Illus. 11: GB-WWro CR1291/474, f. 37r

The main question prompted by the discovery that John Lenton made his version of WoO 2 from the seven-part version in MS 289 is why he copied only four of the parts, omitting the ripieno violins and bass. The explanation, I suggest, lies with his activities in the Lincoln's Inn Theatre. As already mentioned, after the breakup of the United Company in 1695 Lenton joined Betterton's company at the Lincoln's Inn Theatre, writing at least ten sets of theatre airs put on there by the company between 1698 and 1705.⁵⁰ He is not known to have been active in the company after it moved to the new Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket in 1705. Theatre airs, a tripartite assemblage of the 'First Music' and 'Second Music' (groups of pieces played before the play began); the overture; and the four act tunes (played between the five acts of the play), were nearly always written just for four-part strings. For ordinary spoken plays (as opposed to dramatic operas, which used larger instrumental groups) they seem to have been played by a string quartet in a small music room placed in a gallery or balcony above or at the side of the stage.⁵¹ In 1706 John Kersey, revising 'Orchestra' for the sixth edition of Edward Phillips's *New World of Words*, added the following sentence to the standard meaning as a location in the Greek and Roman theatre: 'It is now taken for the Musick-Gallery, or Place where the Musicians sit'.⁵²

Most theatre airs were printed or copied without continuo parts or figures in the bass parts, in part doubtless because their full four-part writing made the participation of continuo instruments less necessary than in two- or three-part music, but also I suggest because the music rooms did not always have room for keyboard instruments or continuo players.⁵³ The other music required for plays could have been accompanied on stage, the dances by costumed fiddlers, the songs by the singers themselves or by an attendant, at first with a lute or guitar but from the 1690s increasingly with an on-stage keyboard instrument.⁵⁴ For instance, in the anonymous tragi-comedy *The Triumphs of Virtue* (Drury Lane, ?February 1697) Act II begins with the following stage direction: '*A Bed-Chamber, and a Spinette set forth. Isidora plays upon the Spinette, and Sings*'.⁵⁵

Between the 1660s and first decade of the eighteenth century it seems to have been routine for sets of theatre airs to be specially written for new plays and significant revivals, resulting in a repertory of more than 120 identifiable sets surviving in whole or part.⁵⁶ However, the production of new sets tailed off after 1710: the series published by John Walsh as *Harmonia Anglicana* (and its unnamed sequel devoted to sets written for the Queen's Theatre) came to an end with a compilation from Handel's opera *Rodrigo* for a revival of Jonson's *The Alchemist* at the Queen's Theatre in January 1710,⁵⁷ though Walsh continued to publish individual sets intermittently for

⁵⁰ See the list in Holman, 'John Lenton'; also C.A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* ([Ann Arbor], 1979), 144, 147-8, 164-5, 168, 171-2, 177, 189, 213, 218-19, 226, 238-41, 243. For the Lincoln's Inn Theatre, see J. Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields 1695-1708* (Carbondale and Edwardsville IL, 1979).

⁵¹ The evidence is set out in the introduction to *Restoration Theatre Airs*, ed. P. Holman and A. Woolley, forthcoming in *Musica Britannica*.

⁵² G. Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500-1740* (Cambridge, 1995), 258.

⁵³ See the discussion of this point in the introduction to *Restoration Theatre Airs*, ed. Holman and Woolley.

⁵⁴ Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 78-81; C.A. Price, 'Restoration Stage Fiddlers and their Music', *Early Music* 7 (1979), 315-22; C. Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge, 2017), 115-18.

⁵⁵ *The Triumphs of Virtue, a Tragi-Comedy* (London, 1697), 17; *The London Stage ... 1660-1700*, ed. Van Lennep, 473-4; Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 80.

⁵⁶ The catalogue in Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 135-243 is seriously out of date, though it has not been superseded.

⁵⁷ C.A. Price, 'Handel and *The Alchemist*: His first Contribution to the London Theatre', *The Musical Times* 116 (1975), 787-8; *The London Stage, 1660-1800: A New Version of Part 2, 1700-1729* [LSNV], comp. and ed. J. Milhous and R.D. Hume (2001), 540, 542 <@>.

another decade.⁵⁸ The main reason for this seems to have been that entertainments performed on the stage between the acts of plays were increasingly replacing the act tunes of specially composed theatre airs. These interval entertainments usually consisted of singing and dancing, though they sometimes featured performances of Italian sonatas and concertos, and at some stage Italianate instrumental ensemble music also began to replace the first and second music and the overture. By 1710 the two theatre companies were not just competing with each other but also with London's rapidly developing public concerts, where Italian music was all the rage.⁵⁹

The Cremonese violinist Gasparo Visconti (b. 1683), a pupil of Corelli known in England as 'Signor Gasperini', seems to have led the way with regular performances of Italian sonatas between the acts of plays at Drury Lane from the spring of 1703: on 19 April he performed 'several Sonatas' during Aphra Behn's comedy *The Emperor of the Moon*, and on 23 April, for a performance of John Banks's tragedy *Virtue Betray'd, or Anna Bullen*, his contribution was described as 'several Italian Sonatas's on the Violin'; for a performance of Thomas Shadwell's *The Libertine Destroy'd* on 22 December 1703 they were specifically described as 'several Italian Sonata's on the Violin, compos'd by the great Arcangelo Corelli, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and others'.⁶⁰

Sometimes it was mentioned specifically that these performances would be on the Drury Lane stage rather than in the music room, as on 3 April 1706, when a performance of Colley Cibber's *The Careless Husband* included as an interval entertainment 'a new Sola never yet perform'd, compos'd by Signior [Nicola] Haym's, and perform'd on the Stage by him and Signior Gasperini'.⁶¹ Larger-scale Italian instrumental music was also performed at Drury Lane, presumably on the stage as part of interval entertainments: on 22 August 1704 John Walsh advertised a 'Sonata Concerto Grosse for Violins in 5, 6, and 7 parts, Compos'd by Signior Albinoni, perform'd by Signior Gasperini and others at the Theatre'.⁶²

Less is known about the instrumental music performed during plays at Lincoln's Inn Fields because Betterton's company spent less on advertising than their rivals at Drury Lane, though a few of their advertisements mention Italian music. In a performance of *The Country Wife* by William Wycherley on 29 December 1702, the performance included 'an Entertainment of Musick which was perform'd before the Doge and Senate of Venice the last Carnival', while on 14 June 1703, during a special performance of Thomas Porter's tragedy *The Villain* for an ambassador from Portugal, the entertainments between the acts included 'several Italian Trumpet Sonatas being intirely new'.⁶³

Corelli's Sinfonia in D WoO 4 was published by Walsh in April 1704 in an innovative periodical series making available Italian instrumental music that had recently been performed in public in

⁵⁸ Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720*, 114, 117, 120, 125, 130, 132, 150, 163. For lost sets written by John Eccles in 1713 and 1714, see P. Holman, 'Six Generations of Music and Scandal: New Light on the Eccles Family of String Players', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 15 (2021), 33-58, at 44.

⁵⁹ Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England', 32-7, 74-83; O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'With several Entertainments of Singing and Dancing: London Theatre Benefits, 1700-1725', *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. M. Gardner and A. DeSimone (Cambridge, 2020), 39-59, esp. 39-47; R.G. Rawson, 'Concertos "upon the Stage" in early Hanoverian London: The Instrumental Counterpart to Opera Seria', *Music and the Benefit Performance*, ed. Gardner and DeSimone, 60-82, esp. 67-70; Rawson, '"After the Italian Manner": Finger, Pepusch and the First Concertos in England', *Musical Exchange between Britain and Europe*, ed. Cunningham and White, 108-36, esp. 120-3, 130-6.

⁶⁰ LSNV, 97, 134 <@>.

⁶¹ LSNV, 291.

⁶² Tilmouth, 'Chamber Music in England', 78. The publication is not recorded in Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720* and seems to be lost.

⁶³ LSNV, 84, 105.

London,⁶⁴ so it could have been one of the trumpet works played in Lincoln's Inn Fields in June 1703. We have seen that it had been circulating in England since at least the 1690s, though 1703 might have been the first time it had been played in public. WoO 4 was probably also the 'Sonata Compos'd by Signior Corelli' that the Irish trumpeter Jacob Twisleton played in his benefit concert in London on 20 March 1713.⁶⁵ Twisleton claimed that Corelli had written it 'on purpose' for him 'when he was at Rome'. This cannot have been true since he was only born in 1687, and if he did travel to Italy it was probably only shortly before he arrived in London in January 1713 accompanying the French ambassador, the Duc D'Aumont.⁶⁶

So far as I have been able to discover, there is no record of any performance of Corelli's Concerto in G minor WoO 2 in London, at the two theatres or in public concerts, despite having been copied by John Lenton and London A, musicians associated respectively with Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane. However, they both copied it in cut-down versions with the ripieno parts missing, which strongly suggests it was performed, or at least prepared for performance, in both theatres by small groups in the music gallery as a substitute for a component of theatre airs rather than as part of a special musical entertainment performed by a larger group on the stage.⁶⁷ An unpublished concerto by Corelli performed in its full seven-part form as part of an interval entertainment would surely have been mentioned in advertising.

It was certainly the norm in later times for concertos and sonatas to be used as sets of theatre airs had been during the Restoration period. Charles Burney wrote that 'little Harry Burgess' (Henry Burgess junior, the house harpsichordist at Drury Lane in the late 1730s) 'for second-music' (i.e. just before the prologue and the overture) 'often played concertos, generally of his own, as clean and unmeaning as if set on a barrel',⁶⁸ and a performance of Farquhar's comedy *The Beaux Stratagem* at Drury Lane on 22 May 1739 had 'For the second Musick, A Concerto by Mr. Henry Burgess, Jun.', and 'For the Overture. The First Concerto of Signor Corelli'.⁶⁹ Elsewhere Burney remarked that William Boyce's trio sonatas were not just 'in constant use, as chamber Music' but were also used 'in our theatres as act-tunes, and public gardens, as favourite pieces, during many years'.⁷⁰

Summary and Conclusion

The copies the violinist and composer John Lenton made of Corelli's Sinfonia in D major WoO 4 and his Concerto in G minor WoO 2, now forming GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312, throw new light on the nature of these fascinating early works and their reception in England. Lenton's copy of WoO 4, with its characteristically Roman 'blank passage', appears to transmit a version from a source close to the composer, perhaps one that was circulating in England by 1692, when Purcell

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Michael Talbot for pointing this out to me. See Smith, *A Bibliography of ... John Walsh ... 1695-1720*, 48; Holman, 'Arcangelo Corelli, his Trumpet Sinfonia and the Mysterious Mr Twisleton', 8.

⁶⁵ *The Daily Courant*, 16 March 1713. This advertisement is transcribed complete in Holman, 'Arcangelo Corelli, his Trumpet Sinfonia and the Mysterious Mr Twisleton', 1.

⁶⁶ For Twisleton's biography, see Holman, 'Arcangelo Corelli, his Trumpet Sinfonia and the Mysterious Mr Twisleton'.

⁶⁷ In his introduction to the facsimile, *Instrumental Music for London Theatres, 1690-99: Royal College of Music, London, MS 1172*, x, Curtis Price suggests that WoO 2 might have been used as an accompaniment to the dinner-time concert in Shadwell's comedy *The Volunteers* (Drury Lane, November 1692), in which characters comment on the 'Italian' piece being played, mentioning 'Chromatic Musick', and a 'Fuge', though the work has no fugal passages and only a little chromaticism in the fourth section.

⁶⁸ C. Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1776, 1789), iv. 664. See also P. Holman, *Before the Baton: Musical Direction and Conducting in Stuart and Georgian Britain* (Woodbridge, 2020), 247.

⁶⁹ *The London Daily Post*, 22 May 1739; I am grateful to Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson for this reference. See also *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 3: 1729-1747*, ed. A.H. Scouten (Carbondale IL, 1961), 777.

⁷⁰ Burney, *A General History*, iii. 620.

imitated its canzona-like passage in an instrumental movement for *The Fairy Queen*. Lenton's copy of WoO 2 seems to have been made directly from GB-Lam, MS 289, a manuscript probably copied by an Englishman in Rome in the 1680s or 90s. It is the only source to preserve the work in its original form as a seven-part concerto grosso, scored for two concertino and two ripieno violins, viola, *leuto* concertino and *violone* or bass violin ripieno. The Greswold manuscript with its violin 1 concertino part seems to derive independently from another early manuscript, and incidentally confirms that MS 289's *leuto* was the long-necked *arcileuto*, which at the time was rapidly replacing the larger and more cumbersome *tiorba* or theorbo.⁷¹

In the last part of this paper I suggest that Lenton copied these two works as part of his activities at the Lincoln's Inn Theatre, at a time when specially composed sets of theatre airs were being replaced by Italian instrumental music. The copy of WoO 2 in GB-Lcm, MS 1172 may indicate that it became the subject of rivalry between the two London theatres, because its copyist, the unidentified musician known as London A, seems to have been working for the rival Drury Lane Theatre. Lenton and London A both copied WoO 2 without its ripieno parts, perhaps because it was used in both theatres as a substitute for one of the components of theatre airs, played by a small group in the music gallery rather than as part of a special interval entertainment on the stage. WoO 4 may also have been played at Lincoln's Inn Fields, since Italian trumpet sonatas were known to have been performed there in 1703, and it was published by John Walsh in 1704 in a series featuring Italian instrumental music that had recently been performed in public in London.

⁷¹ On this point, see P. Holman, 'Handel's Lutenist, the *mandolino* in England, and John Francis Weber', *Händel-Jahrbuch* 61 (2015), 241-57, at 241-4.

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